California Journal

The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics

February 1982/$2.50

Daggers under the dome
Reporters versus lawmakers

SPECIAL SECTION
'82 Roster and Guide

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dr. Berlitz, translation please . . .

The following is an exact copy of the conclusion section of a new report published by the state Office of Economic Opportunity:

The total amount of work for OEO during FY 81-82 is reflected in this document. OEO historically has functioned in a crises mode where reaction was the general mode of behavior, rather than planning and initiating. During the last eighteen months OEO has been gradually moving toward a pro-active mode where planning comes first, initiation and then reacting. This Evaluability Assessment has contributed profoundly to a more rational approach.

We have clearly isolated the things that we must do. We also know what we should do but we have given no attention at all to the nice to do. The Evaluability Assessment also required us to identify where we are and define where we want to go. In developing this approach, many opportunity costs, i.e., the cost of not doing something, have been recognized.

Step one, clarification of objectives has been accomplished. We now know what the organizations logic is, what our mandates and commitments are. Step two, finding program reality while more difficult, was determined. The organizational members are clear as to which responsibilities will cause results for our target group and those that are important primarily to OEO. The first rankings on page 18 were unclear and lacked the necessary direction. Their utility increased after a deeper analysis when blending and condensation evolved into the OEO funcitonal *(sic)* framework.

The resource allocation exercise was the most revealing about the organization's goals, objectives and priorities. The composite of OEO resources below (Figure 4) illustrates the macro mission and responsibility did not hold their original ranking.

No comment.

Sampling of the latest offerings in the "Proposition 13 struck and . . ." word game:

From Daniel Aseltine of Upland: The Cemetery Board was mortified. The Horse Racing Board came unglued.

From Chuck Hurley of Berkeley: The Board of Chiropractic Examiners went out of adjustment. The Board of Cosmetology lost face.

From Steve Greenberg of Los Angeles: The Division of Libraries waited to check things out. The Treasurer's Office became Unruhly.

From Joe Cislowski and Van Ajemian, Assembly fellows from Los Angeles: The Bureau of Electronic Repair resisted. The Little Hoover Commission didn't give a dam.

From the front page of the *Sacramento Bee:* "Study suggests older citizens be sent from nuclear shelters for food to spare younger generations." As Jonathan Swift suggested in "A Modest Proposal," younger people probably would taste better.

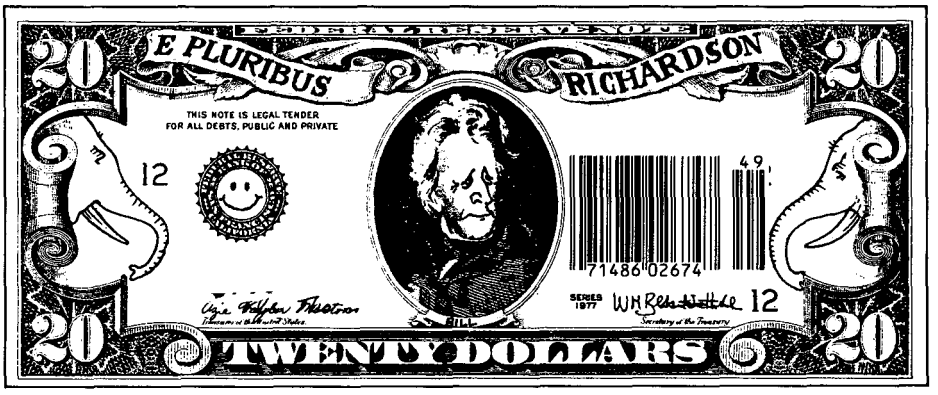
Columnist Eli Setencich of the *Fresno Bee* keeps inventing nicknames for Mayor Daniel K. Whitehurst of Fresno, a Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate. One of the names: Daniel K. Whippersnapper.

In some Republican circles there is a fervent hope that Tom Hayden will be elected to the Assembly this year. In fact, some GOP staffers in the Legislature are talking about taking steps to help him get elected. The theory: Hayden's ultra-liberal past and outspoken nature will prove an embarrassment to the Democrats and will help GOP candidates throughout the state.

Just a few months ago, it appeared that Congressman Tony Coelho from down Merced way would be a cinch for re-election. In fact, Coelho was so confident he took the job of running the national congressional campaign for the Democrats. But now Republicans are clamoring for a crack at Coelho. The reason: The congressman damaged his image greatly by intervening on behalf of a friend in a major criminal case.

Clarification department: A few months ago, Up Front reported on the high percentage of applicants for security-guard licenses who turn up with criminal records. Jim Cathcart of the Department of Consumer Affairs wants it made clear that guards cannot carry guns until all their papers have been processed.

The Republican Party hierarchy reluctantly went to "New Right" Republican Senator Bill Richardson to run the party's mail campaign for reapportionment referendum signatures. Here is what Richardson produced: many more than 450,000 signatures, $800,000 to finance the mail campaign, and 55,000 brand new names of Republicans willing to contribute funds for political purposes.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS

FEBRUARY BONUS: THE 1982 ROSTER

This issue includes a copy of the Journal's *best-selling annual publication: the* California Journal Roster and Government Guide. *Completely updated for 1982, this directory of the state's elected and appointed officials is also available as a separate reprint.*

Capitol warfare 37

By Vic Pollard

Reporters and state legislators used to party together; now they resemble two suspicious enemy camps.

John Schmitz's game 40

By James R. Carroll

Is the senator's rhetoric only outrageous, or does it reflect a plan to mobilize the Old Right?

The great exception 42

By Ed Salzman

Unlike most political contests, the 1982 governor's race may provide a forum for discussing issues.

Brown's last budget 61

By Ed Salzman

The would-be U.S. senator is seeking fiscal stopgap measures, leaving the tough decisions for his successor.

Getting tough with drunk drivers 64

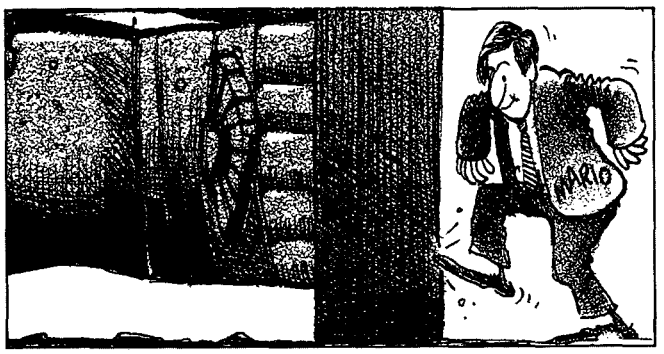
By Laura Fremont

With strict new laws on the books, advocates now want a nickel-a-drink tax to pay for court costs and jail space.

Obledo's stirring dream 67

By Eric Brazil and Roberto Robledo

Some small-town election victories encourage Hispanic hopes that the "sleeping giant" is rousing.



California's pot experiment 69

By Mary Kathleen Smith

Red tape has plagued the state's first efforts to aid cancer victims with legal marijuana.

Newsmakers . . . . . 70 Courts 44
Leo Rennert 71

California Journal *The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics*

Volume XIII, Number 2 February 1982

PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER
Thomas R. Hoeber

EDITOR
Ed Salzman

MANAGING EDITOR
Alice Nauman

ART DIRECTOR
Chris Van Overloop

CIRCULATION MANAGER
Barbara Aguirre

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT
Leo Rennert

CONTRIBUTING ARTISTS
Paul Duginski, John Palmer

STAFF: Hope Tuttle, Mary E. Gillis, Kimberley A. Parisi

TELEVISION PRODUCTION
Joan Reiss

COUNSEL Conrad Lee Klein

AUDITORS
Arthur Young & Company

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL is a non-partisan, non-ideological analysis of California government and politics established in 1970 and published monthly by The California Center, a non-profit, public-benefit corporation specializing in research and education in government.

The *Journal* is indexed in Public Affairs Information Service, New York Times Information Bank, Sage Urban Studies Abstracts, Urban Affairs Abstracts, Public Issues Index and California Periodicals Index.

CALIFORNIA JOURNAL (ISSN 00081205) is published monthly. Subscription rates: Libraries and Governmental Agencies, $30; Corporations and Associations, $75; Special Individual Rate, $22. Address all inquiries to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, California 95814. Telephone (916) 444-2840.

Copyright 1982 by The California Center.

Second class postage paid at Sacramento. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to CALIFORNIA JOURNAL, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento, CA 95814.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

EUGENE C. LEE, Chairman, director of the Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley.

DAVID CRIPPENS, vice president and station manager, KCET, Los Angeles.

STEPHEN D. GAVIN, vice president and corporate relations officer, Pacific Mutual, Newport Beach.

R. WILLIAM HAUCK, executive vice president, California Research, Sacramento.

THOMAS R. HOEBER, publisher, *California Journal*, Sacramento.

HAROLD KEITH, investments, Beverly Hills.

ROSELLEN KERSHAW, past president, California Division, American Association of University Women, Fresno.

ED LAMMERDING, chief executive officer, Capitol Bank of Commerce, Sacramento.

DONALD G. LIVINGSTON, vice president, Carter Hawley Hale Stores, Inc., Los Angeles.

ROBERT T. MONAGAN, president, California Manufacturers Association, Sacramento.

YOLANDA NAVA, Sacramento.

VIGO G. (CHIP) NIELSEN, attorney, Dobbs and Nielsen, San Francisco.

MARCEL B. POCHÉ, justice, First District Court of Appeal, San Francisco.

MADELEINE H. RUSSELL, former Democratic national committeewoman, San Francisco.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Personal

PERSPECTIVE

By Ed Salzman

Zzzzz . . .

"Sleeping Sam."

Above all, those two words explain why S. I. Hayakawa is running a dismal fourth in his campaign for re-election to the United States Senate. Many Californians have a notion that the 75-year-old junior senator spends a great deal of time napping during working hours and wakens only long enough to utter flip remarks guaranteed to anger yet another interest group.

Politically, Hayakawa has hardly done anything right in the five years since he ousted Democrat John Tunney from the Senate. As his former associate Harvey Yorke put it, "He's systematically alienated every big bloc of votes in the state." With hard work, Hayakawa might have been able to neutralize some of the groups he has offended, but how could he erase his image as "Sleeping Sam"?

In a sense, Hayakawa is a victim of his own publicity. When he first ran for the Senate six years ago, his campaign managers decided to call him Sam Hayakawa, even though he was known to all his friends as Don. Sam sounded more lyrical and consistent with his given name of Samuel. As it turned out, Sam went just dandy with Sleeping. Dozing Don wouldn't have been nearly so catchy.

Hayakawa went to Washington at an age when many Californians retire from the workaday world. He apparently decided to have fun and do things his way, whether the public approved or not. He became known as a Washington gadfly, someone who seemed to enjoy the utterance of an outrageous statement. He took naps within public view and tap-danced in his office. Most other politicans sleep in their offices and exercise in public so that the voters will see how vigorous they are.

Politicians everywhere should take lessons from Hayakawa if they want to learn how not to get re-elected. The course outline goes like this:

- **Adopt the attitude** that you don't care whether or not you get re-elected. Voters will respect your desire for independence and your desire to pursue your own interests, whether or not they coincide with the needs of your constituents.
- **At every opportunity,** offer smart-alec solutions to serious problems. The voters don't expect their elected officials to be serious.
- **Forget about** the necessity to produce legislation. The people don't want any more laws, and they would prefer to be represented by someone who sits above the dust of the daily fray.
- **Forget those** who helped you get where you are. Let the other senator do most of the constituent service work. Make no effort to expand your political base.
- **Don't worry** about prolonged stays away from your constituents. Voters would prefer to have their senators working on the improvement of African relations than solving economic problems at home.
- **When business leaders** approach you about legislation involving their industry, give them short shrift.
- **Don't be concerned** about the aspirations of other politicians in your party who might like your job. They'll be delighted to wait for you to bow out gracefully before entering the party primary.
- **If you get weary** in public, by all means take a nap — especially if people call you Sam.

ROSTRUM

Short letters from subscribers are encouraged.

98% unanimous

The January issue carried a story, "How Willie Brown solidified his speakership." That story contained a serious inaccuracy.

The story said: "At the outset of the operation, the Rules Committee was erratic in its placement of legislation in committees . . . Fascinated by his newfound juice, Rules Committee Chairman Lou Papan of Daly City sent bills every which way, according to the dictates of his own conscience."

The facts are:

- The Rules Committee made no erratic placement of legislation. From the outset, the committee followed a set of jurisdictional guidelines developed by Speaker Brown. Those guidelines were discussed with committee chairmen and debated extensively by the full Rules Committee.
- The guidelines were published and remain a matter of public record.
- As chairman, I have no authority to assign bills according to my own conscience. In fact, bill assignments require five committee votes. Indeed, 98 percent of the bills were assigned unanimously.
- Where disagreements arose between committee chairmen, full public hearings were held on the bill assignments with all interested parties invited to appear in public.
- From the outset, the Rules Committee established a procedure for considering controversial assignments and that procedure has been followed without exception.

LOUIS J. PAPAN, Chairman
Assembly Rules Committee

The other flank

Antonio Rossmann pleads for the Legislature to disenfranchise project applicants by automatically disqualifying from voting any elected official whom the applicant has supported. (*California Journal*, January 1982.) What Rossmann seeks is only half the loaf.

I for one would quickly give him what he asks if he would as willingly

Continued on page 41

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Capitol warfare: reporters versus lawmakers

By VIC POLLARD

Barely a decade ago, a small lounge which was then located just off the rear of the Assembly chamber bore a sign announcing that the free coffee and doughnuts inside were for "Legislators and Press Only."

Last year, leaders of the Legislature and the Capitol Correspondents' Association were engaged in an all-out battle over proposed seating charts for the newly restored Assembly and Senate chambers — charts that would have severely limited reporters' traditional access to the floors of both houses.

That illustrates how dramatically the relationship between the Legislature and the Capitol press corps has changed in a relatively short time. The old Assembly lounge where reporters were encouraged to join legislators for refreshments was one of the last vestiges of a chummy, clubby atmosphere which traditionally prevailed in dealings between Capitol journalists and their principal sources of news.

A number of the reporters who covered the Legislature in the old days gathered much of their material during after-hours drinking sessions with lawmakers. Not all reporters covered the "saloon beat" regularly, to be sure. But enough of them did to create a significant imbalance of coverage in favor of their most frequent legislative drinking buddies. More significant, however, was the woeful lack of critical coverage of the Legislature in general.

By comparison, the Legislature and the press corps today seem almost like two armed camps, firing volleys at each other across a no-man's land. Since the early 1970s, Sacramento news reporters and newsmakers have put more professional distance between themselves. More alert, aggressive coverage has helped produce reforms such as recorded committee votes and campaign disclosure statements. But it has also created growing distrust and suspicion of the press among many legislators. The chasm widened much more rapidly during the 1981 session with an unprecedented spate of stories about questionable special-interest legislation.

Friction between the two sides peaked late last year during negotiations over the placement of desks and other facilities for reporters and cameramen in the restored legislative chambers. First there was an Assembly proposal to bar reporters entirely from the floor of the lower house chamber, relegating them to an upstairs gallery. If they wanted to interview a lawmaker, they would have to take an elevator down to the floor level and call the member aside. One of the proposal's strongest backers was Democratic Assemblyman Larry Kapiloff of San Diego, who has had his share of unfavorable press coverage and who has sponsored measures to protect the privacy of public officials and private citizens against the media. However, the plan was dropped after a couple of negotiating sessions in which media representatives insisted that floor access is not only a personal convenience but also vital to the public's right to every detail of the legislative process. Reporters were surprised to find that their strongest defender was Assembly Rules Committee Chairman Lou Papan, who has been the target of as many journalistic jibes as anybody in Sacramento. Bobbie Metzger, press aide to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, says the restrictive plan was dropped after Brown personally intervened.

The controversy was tame compared to the brouhaha that surrounded the seating plan for the Senate floor. At the eleventh hour, Jerry Zanelli, chief aide to Senate President pro Tem David Roberti, issued orders for changes in the floor arrangement that would have virtually eliminated the press desks and placed most reporters in theater-type seats behind the VIP guest area. Zanelli insisted that senators need areas on the floor where they can confer in private. He also complained about what he said was *Sacramento Union* reporter-columnist Dan Walters' habit of following members into the senators' lounge.

The proposal sparked a sharp reaction among the press corps. Most Capitol bureaus wrote stories describing the proposal as a harshly restrictive move taken against the backdrop of rising press criticism of questionable legislative activities. Walters wrote a blistering column, insisting that he had never followed a lawmaker into the lounge uninvited. Further, he pointed out that Zanelli personally figured in critical investigative stories Walters had written several years before about the activities of state Controller Ken Cory.

Many of the Capitol reporters' home offices chipped in with strongly worded letters to Roberti and their local legislators, demanding better treatment for the press. In the face of the onslaught, Roberti ordered the seating changed to allow most of the desks returned to the floor, plus room for television and radio facilities. Front-row theater seats will accommodate the overflow.

The run of the floor

Such a fight would have been most unlikely a few years ago. Well into the 1960s, reporters not only enjoyed refreshments in the Assembly lounge, but they also had the run of the floor in the lower house and were allowed to interview members at their desks during sessions. Only later were they banished to the outer aisles. The Senate was always more stuffy about decorum in its chamber, but even there reporters long enjoyed close contact with lawmakers both in and out of session.

That is not to say that the Legislature allowed unrestricted access to the places where the most important decisions were made. Only in the last 20 years or so have photographers been allowed into committee hearings; even less access was granted television cameramen. In the early days of TV coverage, newspaper reporters and photographers were often the allies of the Legislature in trying to exclude the new medium. As late as 1975, TV reporters regularly risked ejection and even arrest in trying to cover some Senate committee sessions. And the most important

Vic Pollard is a Capitol reporter for Gannett News Service and a frequenty contributor to the Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

committee — the joint Senate-Assembly conference committee on the budget — closed its deliberations to the press entirely until well into the 1970s.

Some reporters compensated for the limited access by utilizing what is now viewed as the seamiest side of early-day Sacramento journalism: the "saloon beat." Before the days of the full-time Legislature, lawmakers gathered for a few months every two years, with short budget sessions in between. A major recreational activity for these part-time lawmakers consisted of bending elbows at watering holes near the Capitol. A number of reporters became regular cronies of key legislative leaders during lunch time and after-hours sessions, with the tab often picked up by lobbyists. Lawmakers who thus carefully cultivated their press contacts were usually rewarded with an abundance of coverage and little media criticism.

While the saloon-beat regulars often lacked the respect of their fellow reporters, at least in later years, the general relationship between the Legislature and the press corps was far more intimate than would be allowed by today's journalistic standards. Veterans of the early days recall that the opening of the session started with a small crowd of legislators, reporters and lobbyists piling onto a train in Los Angeles and drinking their way to Sacramento. Once in the capital, there was a regular series of convivial social events. Legislators and lobbyists sponsored dinners for the press. Until World War II, reporters each session organized a Bumble Bee Dinner for themselves and published a satirical newspaper called the *Bumble Bee*, poking fun at lawmakers and themselves. A regular feature of each session was the press-Legislature golf tournament, which endured until the retirement a few years ago of its chief organizer, the late *San Francisco Examiner* reporter Jack Welter.

The change in the relationship between the Legislature and the press corps began in the early 1970s, but some of the seeds were sown much earlier. The California press got a very large black eye in 1949 when it was left to Lester Velie in *Collier's Magazine* to expose the state's biggest political scandal: kingpin lobbyist Artie Samish's domination of the Legislature. The exposé and the ensuing investigation by U.S. Senator Estes Kefauver's committee on racketeering focused attention as never before on the dark underside of legislative politics.

Richard Rodda, retired political editor of the *Sacramento Bee*, and other Capitol reporters of that era argue that much of the criticism aimed at them was unjustified, because the exposé would never have been possible without Samish's mystifying decision to tell all to Velie — something he had never done with any other newsman.

Nevertheless, the Samish scandal raised concern about the relationship between legislators and lobbyists, both with the public and many reporters. The old habits were slow to change, but by the 1960s there was a growing corps of journalists in the Capitol with a penchant for digging behind the scenes.

Then, in the early 1970s, came the biggest transformation, the result of a variety of developments:

- **A rapid expansion** occurred in the number of reporters covering the Capitol. With a growing appetite for state government news, most major newspapers increased the size of their bureaus, and several medium-sized dailies assigned full-time reporters for the first time.
- **The electronic media** got in on the act, too, with several TV stations around the state opening full or part-time bureaus.
- **Many of the veteran Capitol reporters** retired or moved on to other jobs, leaving the press corps dominated by younger people, many of them imbued with the idealism of the 1960s.
- **All of the above** coincided with Watergate. The investigative reporting by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of the *Washington Post* which brought down the Nixon Administration gave the press an unprecedented sense of self-importance and also heightened the public's suspicions of politicians. The post-Watergate mentality also provided a young secretary of state, Edmund G. Brown Jr., with the opportunity to campaign for governor on the back of a popular political-reform initiative. Proposition 9 set up the toughest reporting rules for lobbyists and politicians in the nation, providing a gold mine of details about the activities of legislators which had previously been largely hidden from view.

The outbreak of hostilities

Despite increased press scrutiny of lawmakers' foibles during the 1970s, open hostilities did not break out until the last year or two. A variety of explanations are offered by people on both sides, most of them self-serving but all of them probably containing a germ of truth.

The *Union's* Walters says the press and the Legislature coexisted relatively amicably during the '70s because they underwent similar reformist transformations at about the same time. He notes that former Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy and former Senate President pro Tem James Mills took over from old-guard, hardball-playing regimes. It fell to the new leadership to guide the Legislature through the post-Watergate era with its heightened concern over ethical standards and new respect for the power of the press.

"Now you have a kind of a return to the wheeler-dealer politics of the 1960s and earlier," Walters says, "and we (the media) are less tolerant of that." The new Democratic leadership teams, under Brown in the Assembly and Roberti in the Senate, are partisan streetfighters whose followers are keenly aware of the need for record amounts of campaign money for this year's elections. "Everybody is looking at the elections with uncertainty and fear, and they can't afford the scrutiny," Walters says. "They're squeezed by campaign costs on one side and by us on the other."

Jeff Raimundo of the *Sacramento Bee* is one Capitol writer who is not sure the press-political relationship has changed all that much. "It's just that the Legislature has tried to push a lot more special-interest legislation through and gotten burned on it," Raimundo suggests. "That's created suspicion in our minds and resentment in theirs." A not-so-tacit admission of that, he notes, was the series of post-session meetings held by Speaker Brown last year to consider ways of repairing the Legislature's tarnished image. "The conclusion was, 'Don't carry that god-awful legislation,' " Raimundo says.

Other reporters believe that legislators are becoming bolder and more sophisticated about lashing back at critical press coverage, with methods more subtle than trying to kick reporters off the chamber floors. The *Bee's* John Berthelson notes that his paper has an ombudsman for readers' complaints "and they (the legislators) are learning to use him."

While the press and the public are holding legislators to stricter rules of conduct, other standards are changing too. Doug Willis, chief Sacramento correspondent of the Associated Press, says, "The press is applying tougher standards to itself. We're more accountable to the public (for accuracy and fairness), and we now count it as a negative to be too cozy with our sources."

Distinctly different views come from the Legislature. Senate leader Roberti considers the growing hostility a natural function of growth and maturity on both sides. "California is growing up," he says. "It's the size of the fifth largest nation in the world, and I think that causes the Sacramento press corps to view the Legislature the way the Washington

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

press corps views Congress. That means there's an increased distance and that, of course, causes friction." He notes that reporters are barred entirely from the floors of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, although Roberti says that he doesn't believe that's necessary here.

Roberti contends that the greatest single cause of friction is that "the press sometimes accentuates what we (legislators) believe to be "relatively insignificant things," such as expense accounts and catered meals during long sessions.

The Steve Wilson factor

Sensational and unfair reporting by a few members of the press corps is the chief cause of friction, in the view of Speaker Brown's press aide. "I'm not going to name any names, but there are two or three reporters who take things

out of context and do stories that are unfair or just plain not true," says Metzger. She cites one example: a rumor that Assemblyman Mike Roos was about to be dumped as majority leader. "The speaker and everybody else has denied it over and over," she says, "but that appeared in three newspapers. That has to make people feel that some reporters will print anything, even when they know it isn't true."

Despite her vow to name no names, Metzger joins Roberti and other legislators in conceding that one reporter has to be mentioned in any discussion of relations between the press and the Legislature. He is Steve Wilson of television station KGO in San Francisco. Wilson's sensationalized reports about legislators' questionable use of their burgeoning $100 million contingency fund for what appear to be personal luxuries have sparked both terror and hatred among many legislators. Willie Brown himself refuses to answer questions from Wilson unless they are handled live, on the air, so that they can't be edited out of context. Wilson is almost equally unpopular among members of the Capitol press corps, who fear that his antics will be used to justify new restrictions on general press coverage. Wilson didn't help matters when, during an on-the-air commentary, he once called members of the Capitol press corps "lap-dogs" rather than the watchdogs they should be.

Wilson insists he has been unfairly criticized by both legislators and reporters. He defends one of the trademarks of his style: an occasional film of some lawmaker closing a door in Wilson's face. Legislators and other reporters say he chooses such scenes even when his questions have been answered, but Wilson denies that. "I've seen Dan Walters standing in a hallway yelling and screaming and demanding an answer, and then he puts it in his story that somebody repeatedly refused to answer," Wilson says. "When you put it on television, it comes out a lot stronger than just putting it in a story."

Legitimately or not, Wilson's shadow hangs over the darkening relationship between the Legislature and the media. "We're forced to defend Steve Wilson," says Walters, who once wrote a column denouncing Wilson's reportorial techniques.

"Steve Wilson is the symbol of the problem," agrees Roberti. "On some TV stations, all they know is that we eat ice cream bars and get tax-free per diem." But he acknowledges an inherent difficulty in covering the Capitol: Negative stories about misdeeds by individual legislators are easy to dramatize into sensational stories, but the day-to-day efforts to wrestle with the complex problems facing the Legislature are not.

The larger issue

Although the great press-seating crisis of 1981 appears to be settled, the larger issue of media access to information versus public officials' right to privacy will continue. A conflict that is not unique to California, it is one that is certain to flare up repeatedly, especially in times of political stress. While both sides profess to understand the other's position intellectually, there is little meeting of the minds on the practical level. Reporters claim rights to floor access, not as a matter of convenience or privilege but as a First Amendment principle. "Politicians see things in terms of pressure and counter-pressure," says Walters. "You apply pressure here and you give when you get counter-pressure there. They're treating us like another political entity. That's a mistake but . . . that's why I thought it was so important not to lose the seating battle. If we had lost that, I think you would have seen a rollback in all the other reforms, like recorded committee votes and open conference committees."

Legislators see it differently. Jealously guarding their right to control the floors of their chambers, they view the settlement of the seating issue as an old-fashioned political compromise, or even a favor granted to the press. "It's because of the speaker that you guys are on the floor," Metzger has reminded at least one reporter. Roberti adds, "We have less actual space on the Senate floor (than before the restoration), but we have relatively more space devoted to the media."

Continuing tensions are also foreshadowed by trends developing in the media. The current economic situation is squeezing the amount of space most newspapers have for news and the money that radio and TV stations have for news-gathering. This creates stiffer competition among reporters, and that competition tends to discourage coverage of the routine, day-to-day workings of government while it encourages eye-catchers about "sexy" issues, including corruption. "I sense less of a concentration on Sacramento news than there used to be," says UPI Bureau Chief Rob Gunnison. "I think more papers are willing to settle for the agate summaries of the day-to-day stuff and just print one big story out of Sacramento every day."

The long-range effects of the current jockeying are far from certain, but it's clear that a new relationship between the Legislature and the press corps is in the making. While there may be some nostalgic longing for the old-time, easy-going friendlinss, both sides recognize that it is gone forever. Most journalists, in fact, are glad of that. Even one who was there — retired AP bureau chief Morrie Landsberg — agrees that "it was much too clubby in the old days."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Schmitz strategy to mobilize the 'radical fringe'

By JAMES R. CARROLL

Question of the moment: What is John Schmitz's game?

The Republican senator from Newport Beach is running for the United States Senate — at least that is what he says — and insists that he is serious about winning the June GOP primary. But Schmitz has had to grapple with his lack of name identity outside of Orange County. During the last few months, he should have helped that situation immensely.

In statements the media could hardly ignore, Schmitz has:

- **Suggested that** the only way America can be saved if President Reagan's policies fail is by a military coup;
- **Urged the bombing** of Cuba and Nicaragua;
- **Called pro-abortion** witnesses before a committee he chaired "murderous marauders," "bulldykes" and "a sea of hard, Jewish and (arguably) female faces."

That last remark most irritated Schmitz opponents, feminist groups, religious organizations and the leadership of the Senate. In a rare exercise of its power to punish, the Senate Rules Committee removed Schmitz as chairman of the Senate Constitutional Amendments Committee and as vice chairman of the Senate Industrial Relations Committee. The senator also lost his membership card for the California Commission on the Status of Women. "Anti-Semitism has no place in the state Senate," declared Senate President pro Tem David Roberti.

For the average ambitious politician, such developments would be the kiss of death. Stripped of forums in which to publicize his or her positions and branded as an anti-Semite, the reasonable office-seeker might throw in the towel.

But Schmitz has not quit. In fact, he has vigorously defended his comments and is pushing onward. So again, the question: What is John Schmitz's game?

There seem to be two theories about what the senator is doing. The first is that Schmitz was careless and mis-spoke himself, and that he does not understand the consequences of his utterances. But if this were so, it would hardly seem logical that Schmitz would be defending his statements by expanding upon them and attacking his critics as " 'quid-nuncs' of the press."

The second theory is that Schmitz knows exactly what he is saying and doing, that he sincerely believes what he says and believes that a large number of Californians agree with him.

He may be gambling that he can capture the GOP nomination with an outpouring of support from the "right-wing radical fringe" (although that would surely not be the way he would identify his support).

"Obviously, his campaign has been going nowhere," says one Republican who knows Schmitz. "I can't dismiss the fact that it is a coldly calculated effort to distinguish himself from the field."

James R. Carroll is the Capitol bureau chief for The Register *of Orange County.*

This assessment may be the most plausible interpretation of Schmitz's behavior. Whatever else can be said about the man whom Assembly Speaker Willie Brown once called "a fun Nazi," Schmitz cannot be called stupid. He does not have trouble making himself clear. People know his positions on issues, even if those positions appear outrageous or offensive.

Citing the numbers

So, another question: Could Schmitz actually win the GOP primary? The senator himself bristles at that question. While he apparently doesn't mind being called anti-Semitic, anti-feminist, or just plain crazy, Schmitz positively fumes when he sees a news story that says he is not being taken seriously.

Schmitz often refers to the numbers from the primary of June 1980, when he made his first try for the U.S. Senate nomination and for a chance to run against incumbent Democrat Alan Cranston. Schmitz received more than 442,000 votes, or 19 percent of all the Republican votes cast.

"Why is it that when Pete Wilson gets 9 percent of the vote, he is a serious candidate, but when I get 19 percent I'm not a serious candidate?" Schmitz has asked again and again. (Wilson, the mayor of San Diego and another GOP Senate hopeful this year, won just 9.1 percent of the vote in the 1978 Republican gubernatorial primary.)

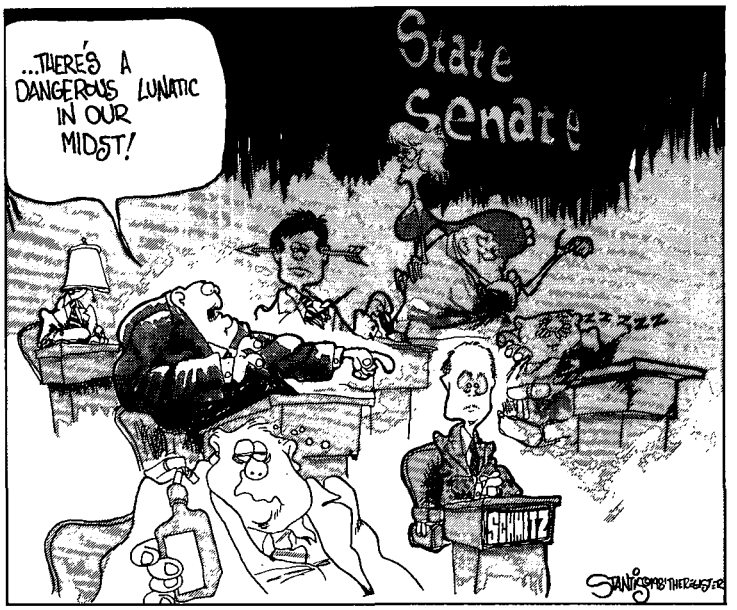
But some election analysts of the 1980 GOP Senate primary say that it may not have been any great feat for Schmitz to take 19 percent of that vote. There were seven people in the race, four of them almost total unknowns right up to primary day. That left Schmitz battling former Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty for the conservative vote and Proposition 13 co-author Paul Gann bidding for the moderates. With Gann heading one of the dullest and least adept campaigns in recent memory and Yorty trying to resurrect a political career that had long since died, it may be surprising that Schmitz didn't take more than 19 percent of the vote, according to some observers. The reason most political analysts give for Schmitz's failure to do better is that he is not a moderate.

Schmitz has another obstacle to being taken seriously: his propensity to run for every office in sight. After winning a state Senate seat in 1964, Schmitz set his sights on Congress. He won a congressional seat in a 1970 special election but lost it two years later. At that point, he took on the mantle of the American Independent Party, ran for president and lost. He returned to the state Senate in 1978, where he mapped plans for his 1980 bid for the U.S. Senate. Now he is running again.

Schmitz nevertheless has undeniable appeal in his home district in Orange County, and more than 400,000 Californians did indeed vote for him in 1980. If there is a strategy in the Schmitz camp, it appears to be relying on a large number of candidates, all bunched together in the polls, plus a low Republican turnout that would amplify the impact of the voters from the Schmitz faithful.

At the moment, the field is indeed large. But it remains uncertain whether the leading contenders in the race —

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Kook or Choirboy? Views of Schmitz by Steve Greenberg of the *Daily News* (Los Angeles) and Scott Stantis of *The Register* (Santa Ana).

Congressman Barry Goldwater Jr., Congressman Paul (Pete) McCloskey, Maureen Reagan, Congressman Robert Dornan and Mayor Wilson — will remain close in the polls. It is even less certain that everyone now in the race will be in it by June. Among those most likely to drop out and thus strengthen someone else's position is the incumbent senator, S. I. Hayakawa and law school Dean Ted Bruinsma.

The scenario favoring a Schmitz victory goes something like this: Hayakawa, Goldwater, McCloskey, Reagan, Wilson and Dornan all have trouble breaking out of the pack. The polls might show, for example, Goldwater at 18 percent, Wilson at 16, McCloskey at 15, Dornan at 12, Hayakawa at 10 and Reagan with 6 percent. That would mean that Schmitz could take his 19 percent from 1980 and win the nomination. In some other theoretical model, the primary winner would need even less.

But, given finite amounts of campaign money and the historical trends of past campaigns, the "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" theory — suggesting all eight candidates will be in the primary — is probably fairytale stuff. In the 1980 Republican presidential contest, a lot of candidates started the race, but by the time half of the primaries were over, the field had been whittled down to just a few names, with Ronald Reagan the clear front-runner.

It appears more likely that the 1982 California Senate race for the GOP nomination will have a frontrunner and some drop-outs by April. And that means the Schmitz strategy will be dead. However, if Schmitz's plan should work and he should win the primary with somewhere between 17 and 20 percent of the Republican vote, he would still have big troubles. Foremost among them would be unifying the Republicans behind his candidacy. Schmitz's proud declarations of his allegiance to the John Birch Society and his ultra-conservative viewpoints in general are not shared by the mainstream of the Republican Party. Nor are such positions shared by most of the other candidates in the primary contest. It would be news indeed if McCloskey threw his support to Schmitz, and it would be stretching the imagination to envision Wilson, Reagan, Hayakawa and Goldwater uniting their followers behind his candidacy.

Assuming that the Republican Party did not renounce Schmitz's candidacy outright (as Democrats did to Tom Metzger in San Diego when the Ku Klux Klan member won their party's congressional nomination in 1980), there is the small matter of winning the November election.

A contest between Schmitz and the probable Democratic nominee, Governor Edmund Brown Jr., would hardly be close. If the broad moderate base of the GOP deserted Schmitz and Democrats had nowhere else to turn, Brown probably could take a two-month vacation in Hawaii and still bury Schmitz in November.

But Schmitz knows all this. He may indeed be looking beyond defeat at the polls this year and to statewide and even national recognition as the new leader of the Old Far Right. No one knows what kind of following could be established these days for one who openly espouses the Schmitz line, but at various times men like Gerald L. K. Smith and Father Charles E. Coughlin built themselves into major national figures.

And that leads to another question: With Ronald Reagan in the White House and with the New Right and the Moral Majority flourishing, is there fertile land available for the seeds of the Old Far Right? In the coming months, John Schmitz may provide the answer.

ROSTRUM *Continued from page* 36

concede the other half of the loaf: automatic disqualification of any elected official who has been supported by any of those quaintly named and often well-funded pressure groups Rossmann described innocuously as "citizen-applicants" (implying thereby that a "project applicant" by definition does not enjoy the status of "citizen"). Such groups have been more aptly characterized by one journalist as the "aginners" (as in "We're agin' everything!"), and they clearly manipulate the political process with as much vigor and regularity as project applicants.

I would likewise admit that project applicants support political candidates out of economic self interest if Rossmann will abandon the pretense that these "citizen" pressure groups have no selfish aims of their own.

If we are going to protect public decision-making from "undue influence," let's protect both flanks, not just one.

BRIAN FINEGAN
Attorney, Salinas

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAMPAIGN '82

The great exception: a Duke-Bradley battle of issues?

By ED SALZMAN

Will California this year finally produce a major election that centers more on issues than on personalities? In the last 18 years, only one individual has been elected governor or United States senator without benefit of a magic name based on show business, folk-hero status or family background. And that one exception, Senator Alan Cranston, originally won his seat primarily because of public opposition to his colorful opponent, then-Superintendent of Public Instruction Max Rafferty.

Look at the other winners — Jerry Brown, son of Pat; Ronald Reagan, the Gipper himself; S. I. Hayakawa, hero of the battle of San Francisco State; John Tunney, son of Gene; George Murphy, graduate of the school of song-and-dance. More of the same may be in order for this year's U.S. Senate contest, which features a Brown, a Goldwater, a Reagan and former actor Bob Dornan.

Now comes the exception: this year's race for governor. If the polls are right, the contestants will be Attorney General George Deukmejian for the Republicans and Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles for the Democrats. Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb cannot be counted out, and he has a show-biz background. One of the Democratic longshots might make things interesting for Bradley. Nevertheless, at this stage a Deukmejian-Bradley battle must be rated a reasonably safe wager.

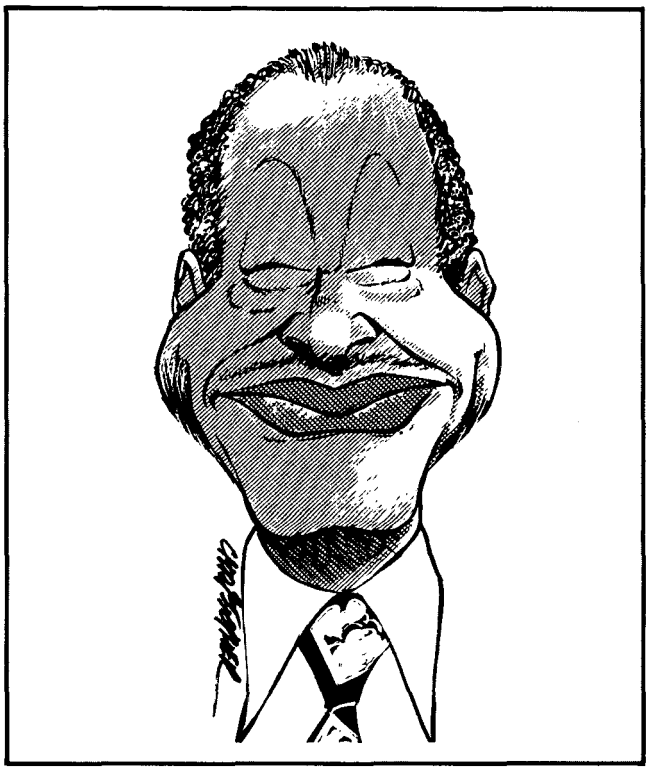
It is difficult to imagine two duller candidates facing off in this era of smoke-and-mirrors politics. Neither has a show-biz or magic-name background. They have worked their way up on the ladder of government. Both are practitioners of the protect-your-rear school of politics. Both are attorneys with law-and-order credentials. Deukmejian can be described as a moderate conservative, Bradley as a moderate liberal. Neither will be able to win the election through personal charisma. Lo and behold, they will probably be forced to discuss issues and make them the fulcrum of the campaign.

Crime and taxes

What will be the real issues of the November election? The Peripheral Canal battle presumably will be over, and there seems to be no disagreement between Deukmejian and Bradley on the massive project. Both are for it. Deukmejian may try to employ the crime issue. But can he make an attack on Bradley stick, given the mayor's background as a police lieutenant and Bradley's support for former Police Chief Ed Davis?

In recent years, Democratic candidates have tended to be more pro-environment and Republicans more pro-development. But Bradley has allied himself with many of the corporate leaders in Los Angeles and can hardly be accused of being so sympathetic to ecological concerns that he will allow the state's economy to suffer. Deukmejian, on the other hand, is subject to attack from environmentalists for some of the actions he has taken as attorney general.

By far the biggest issue of the 1982 campaign should be the candidates' plans for solving the state's fiscal problems. There is no question but that the next governor will have to devote most of his energy to the development of additional revenues and the establishment of priorities for the distribution of state funds. If either candidate takes the position that there is fat in the state budget, as Deukmejian seems to



be saying, then that candidate will be pressed to identify the waste. And it is fundamental that budgetary waste is in the eye of the beholder because every major outlay of public funds has a public constituency. Cautious candidates like Bradley and Deukmejian would be loathe to anger powerful special-interest groups by suggesting that their allocations be cut or eliminated.

There is no mystique to budget cutting. Large cuts must come from health, education and welfare, from tax relief or from local-aid sections of the budget. All other proposals amount to relatively small potatoes and are window dressing. It seems unlikely that any candidate can find enough nickel-and-dime items to solve a prospective budgetary deficit that could run into billions.

The real question is how each of the candidates proposes to raise additional funds. And the entire campaign could focus on a proposed initiative that would produce an estimated $1.3 billion a year through the rewriting of Proposition 13 to take more money from business property and a bit less from homeowners. Although Bradley has managed

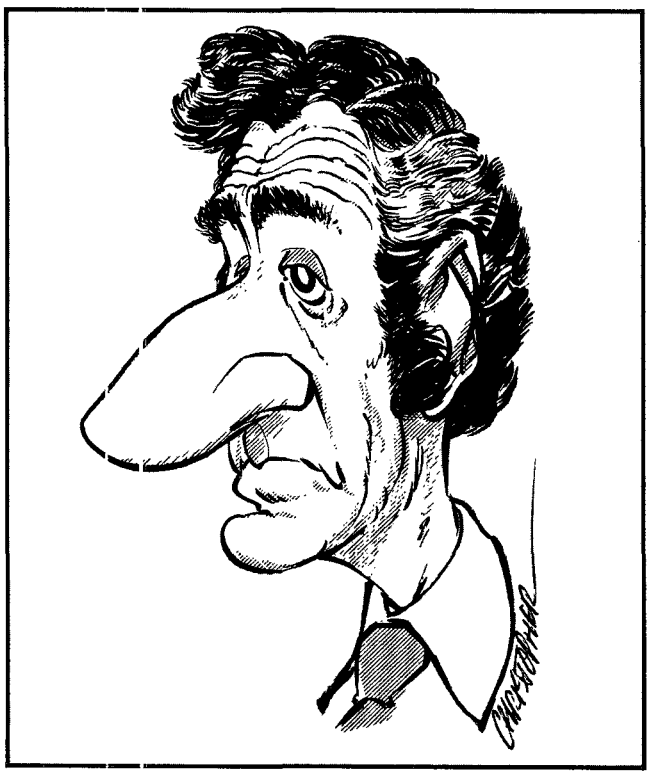
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to avoid taking a stand on some hot issues in the past, would he be able to avoid supporting the initiative, especially since so many of his supporters would be campaigning for it? Deukmejian could adopt the stance that the way to solve the state's fiscal crisis is to cut government costs, but that would be at the expense of alienating large blocs of voters.

The unpredictables

This may be the year in which the public sees and hears a serious discussion of the state's fiscal condition. Will the 1982 election produce a governor who stands for something more than campaign slogans, a good name and some clever television commercials? Everything that has happened so far in the bizarre '82 campaign argues against such a sensible scenario for the election. As Lewis Carroll wrote in *Alice in Wonderland*, things seem to be getting "curiouser and curiouser." A year ago, who could have predicted that:

- **Mike Curb** would have shot himself down from his lofty position in the polls, giving Deukmejian a chance to become the favorite by New Year's Day?



- **By the time** the election process was supposed to start, everything would have to be put on hold because of the controversy over reapportionment of the Legislature and the state's delegation in the House of Representatives?
- **The Republicans** would have raised $800,000 in small donations to help defray the cost of obtaining signatures to place the Democratic redistricting plans on the ballot?
- **The state's** corporate interests and the Latino community would form a redistricting alliance? Or that Common Cause and the GOP would get together for an initiative campaign to establish a commission to draw future district lines?
- **A group of** Republican "kingmakers" would be formed to promote candidates for statewide office — and then fold as a result of adverse publicity?
- **Mayor Pete Wilson** of San Diego would switch from the gubernatorial to the Senate race with considerable success?
- **The year would** start out without new Board of Equalization districts being established?
- **Such a crowded field** would gather to challenge incumbent Hayakawa for the Republican nomination for Senate?
- **Jerry Brown** would remain far ahead of the field for the Democratic Senate nomination despite a lack of popularity with the citizenry?
- **Mario Obledo** would run for governor, thinking he had a decent chance to win?
- **Some of** Maureen Reagan's most ardent supporters would be liberal Democratic feminists, who might register Republican for the June primary in order to vote for her?

If the governor's race shapes up as relatively dull, it may take a back seat to other races. The Democratic reapportionment of the Legislature and the congressional districts could boomerang. The Republican Party is mobilized as never before in its history, as a result of the referendum campaign that easily qualified placement of the reapportionment bills on the June ballot. GOP leaders were surprised by the overwhelming number of responses to their appeal for signatures and money to make the campaign successful. In addition, the presence of a California Republican in the White House has helped provide funds to fuel GOP campaigns.

Aiming at Jerry Brown

The Republicans' top priority nationally this year will be the drive to give Ronald Reagan a Congress controlled by his own party. This requires maintaining control of the Senate and gaining a majority in the House of Representatives. In both cases, California will play a pivotal role. The Democrats feel that the Hayakawa seat is one they can capture, and the outcome of the 45 House of Representatives' races could indeed decide which party will control the House. At the same time, Republicans will be concentrating on the Senate race for another reason: the desire to end the political career of Jerry Brown.

The governor seems to be surviving the attacks of his primary opponents, state Senator Paul Carpenter and Fresno Mayor Daniel Whitehurst. And Brown will have an opportunity to keep public attention riveted on his attempts to keep the state solvent during the next few months. Democrats in general and Brown in particular might be aided by adverse economic conditions and the fiscal problems of the Reagan Administration. And Brown can hope that, out of the wild Republican scramble, will emerge a nominee he can beat. The Senate race is bound to be bold and brassy, a contest of commercials and personalities, if only because of Brown's presence in the race. Mayor Wilson is the only Republican hopeful who might be considered an up-from-the-ranks politician. (And even he was helped by his name, because San Diego had a congressman by the name of Bob Wilson when the mayor first started his political career.) Barry Goldwater Jr. and Maureen Reagan have famous fathers. Dornan is a former actor. Congressman Pete McCloskey has made non-conformity his trademark. Hayakawa made himself a folk hero.

The configuration of the congressional races will depend to a large extent on which districts will be approved by the state Supreme Court. If the Legislature's plan is adopted, Republicans will have to employ enormous sums of money and find unusual candidates to save the 21 seats they now hold in California. But if another scheme is selected by the court, it would not be out of the question for the GOP to capture a majority of the 45 seats.

The national spotlight on the congressional races does not mean that the gubernatorial contest will be ignored — only that it will not always be in the center circle of the political circus. And it could become hot indeed during the primary season if Curb starts rebounding or if Bradley is tested by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one of his opponents. State Controller Ken Cory has been predicting that Bradley's poll ratings will start plummeting once he is forced to speak out on the issues. (That may be accurate, or it may be as fallacious as the argument of former Speaker Bob Moretti in 1974 that Brown would lose his commanding lead in the polls once he became known to the public. Brown didn't even come close to losing his lead, and Bradley has an even larger advantage over Cory, Obledo and state Senator John Garamendi.)

Bitter primaries could change the prospects for a cool November gubernatorial contest. The biggest unknown is the issue that political strategists describe in private but not in public: How large a factor is the fact that Bradley is black? It has not been a problem for Bradley in Los Angeles, and it could be an advantage among liberal Democrats in the north. In so-called "redneck" neighborhoods, race could be a negative factor for Bradley. But are rednecks apt to be enamored of a candidate with the foreign-sounding name of Corken George Deukmejian?

Bradley has done an exemplary job of assembling support from name Democrats throughout the state. Only the scraps are left for his opponents. Deukmejian has been forced to share with Curb the backing of the GOP stalwarts. But should Deukmejian win, it would not be difficult for most Curb supporters to close ranks in the fall.

Dull as he is, Deukmejian has attempted to give himself more appeal by the employment of publicity gimmicks. Over the years, he has gone from C. George Deukmejian to George Deukmejian to George (Deuk) Deukmejian to George (Duke) Deukmejian. What's next? Just plain "Big D?" But that has not detracted from the fact that he is essentially a hard worker who pays attention to issues and who would be a serious, gimmick-free governor.

Bradley has expanded his appeal from a black constituency to a West Los Angeles liberal constituency to a League of California Cities constituency to a business-community constituency. He has worked hard to avoid confrontation politics, especially on the volatile school-busing issue, and has been anything but a minority-group zealot. He too would be a dull but serious governor, far less flashy than those who have occupied the post for the past 16 years.

In the recent past, California voters have often been confronted with a choice between personalities rather than a choice between philosophies. This year, at least in the contest for governor, charisma may take a back seat to public policy.

SIGNIFICANT COURT ACTIONS

The third first

Shortly before Christmas, Governor Jerry Brown appointed Cruz Reynoso, an appellate court justice in Sacramento, as the first Latino member of the state Supreme Court. The appointment of the 50-year-old former head of California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA) was subject to confirmation by the state Commission on Judicial Appointments. Brown had previously appointed the first woman (Chief Justice Rose Elizabeth Bird) and the first black (the late Wiley Manuel) to the state's highest court.

Some so-called law-and-order organizations mobilized opposition to the Reynoso appointment, maintaining that the justice is a doctrinaire left-wing liberal. Reynoso was selected to replace Justice Mathew Tobriner, 77, who retired from the bench in early January. The post pays $76,498 a year. Brown described his appointee

as "a man of outstanding intellect, superior judicial performance, high integrity and rare personal qualities."

A native of Orange County and a one-time farm worker, Reynoso was educated at Pomona College and the University of California law school in Berkeley. He practiced law in El Centro from 1959 to 1966. He held government fair-employment posts for two years before starting a five-year stint as director of CRLA. From 1972 to 1976, he was a professor of law at the University of New Mexico. In 1976, Reynoso was appointed by Brown to the Court of Appeal in Sacramento.

Another capital case

In a 5-2 decision, the state Supreme Court ruled that a trial judge may dismiss a jury's finding of special circumstances that can mean the death penalty or life imprisonment without parole in capital cases. The court sent the case of Dermon Louise Williams back to Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Ernest L. Kelly with instructions that he determine whether there are grounds to strike a jury's findings of special circumstances. The judge had previously announced reluctance to sentence the woman to life without possibility of parole, as required by the 1978 death-penalty measure adopted by the voters.

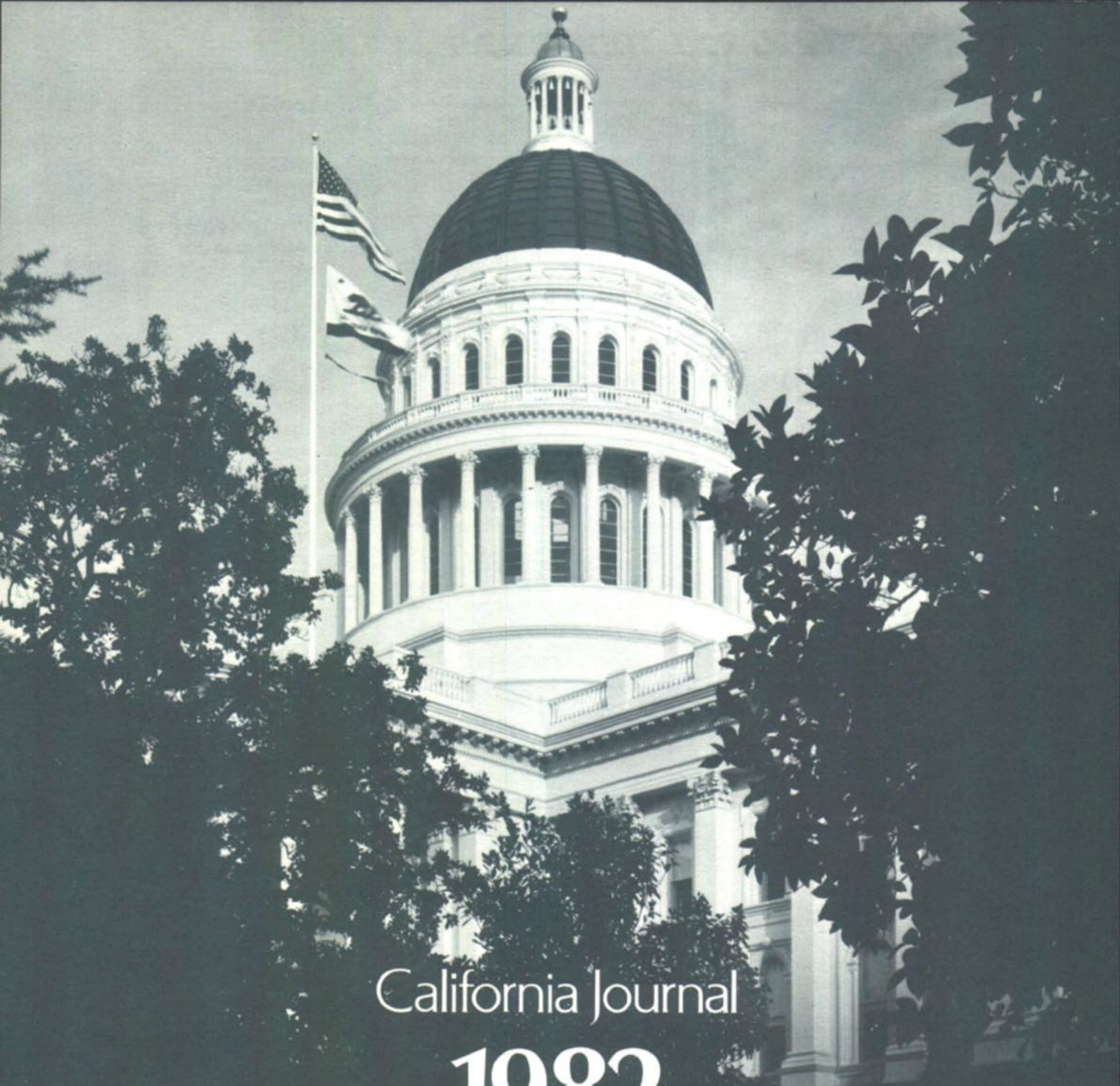
The court opinion, written by Chief Justice Bird, urged judges to use care when considering whether to reverse a jury finding. Added Bird: "The wise use of this power will promote the administration of justice by ensuring that persons are sentenced based on the particular facts of the offense and all the circumstances. It enables the punishment to fit the crime as well as the perpetrator."

In dissent, associate Justice Frank Richardson said the 1978 law "explicitly and unambiguously" provides the penalties for first-degree murder where special circumstances are found. He called the ruling of the majority a "serious error."

The right to politic

In an 8-1 decision, the United States Supreme Court struck down a Berkeley law that put a $250 limit on contributions to committees supporting or opposing ballot measures. The decision also nullifies similar ordinances in many other communities. The state Supreme Court had upheld the Berkeley law. But Chief Justice Warren Burger and seven colleagues found: "Placing limits on contributions, which in turn limit expenditures, plainly impairs freedom of expression." The lone dissenter was Associate Justice Byron White.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



California Journal

1982 ROSTER & GOVERNMENT GUIDE

Reprints

Additional copies of this Roster are available at the following rates:

100 or more copies, 30 cents each; 50 - 99 copies, 40 cents each; 10 - 49 copies, 60 cents each; 2 - 9 copies, 85 cents each; single copies, $1.50. Please add 6% sales tax to all orders. Send your check (or MasterCard or Visa number) to: California Journal Roster, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814.

PHOTO BY JOHN PALMER

© Copyright 1982 by The California Center

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICERS

Governor

Edmund G. Brown Jr. (D)
State Capitol
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-2841

107 S. Broadway, Suite 7013
Los Angeles 90012
Tel. (213) 640-5280

GOVERNOR'S CABINET

B. T. Collins, chairman

Mary Ann Graves, director of finance; 1145 State Capitol; (916) 445-4141.

Alice Lytle, secretary of state and consumer services agency, 915 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-1935.

Huey Johnson, secretary of resources; 1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-5656.

Mario Obledo, secretary of health and welfare; 1600 9th St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-6951.

Mary Nichols, secretary of environmental affairs; Air Resources Board, 1102 Q St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 322-5840.

Richard Rominger, director of department of food and agriculture; 1220 N St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-7126.

Lynn Schenk, secretary of business and transportation; 1120 N St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-1332.

Don Vial, director of industrial relations, 455 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94101; (415) 557-3356.

Howard Way, secretary of youth and adult correctional agency, 1027 10th St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 323-5565.

(Members of the governor's office also attend cabinet meetings.)

SPECIAL OFFICES

Douglas Cunningham, executive director of the Office of Criminal Justice Planning, 9719 Lincoln Village Drive, Sacramento 95827; (916) 445-9156.

Alex Cunningham, director of Office of Emergency Services, 2800 Meadowview Rd., Sacramento 95832; (916) 421-4990.

Marty Morgenstern, director of the Department of Personnel Administration, 1115 11th St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-1574.

Deni Greene, director of Office of Planning and Research, 1400 10th St., Sacramento 95814; (916) 322-2318.

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

B. T. Collins, executive secretary and chief of staff, 445-5106.

Jan Schrader, acting director, Office of Citizen Initiative and Volunteer Action, 322-6061.

Jacques Barzaghi, director of administration, 445-6131.

James D. Neff, legislative secretary, 445-3921.

Byron Georgiou, legal affairs secretary, 445-1915.

Rita Saenz, appointments secretary, 445-0658.

Percy Pinkney, community relations assistant, 445-1956.

Lucie Gikovich, administrative assistant, 445-2843.

Cheryl Goble, correspondence supervisor, 445-1455.

Phillip A. Greenberg, assistant for energy and environment, 323-6237.

Lucien C. Haas, assistant for programs and policy, 324-0648.

Richard Steffen, press secretary, 445-4571.

Fred Branfman, research director, 445-8612.

Lt. Governor

Mike Curb (R)
1028 State Capitol
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-9533

Treasurer

Jesse M. Unruh (D)
915 Capitol Mall, Room 110
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-5316

Superintendent of Public Instruction

Wilson Riles (nonpartisan)
721 Capitol Mall, Room 524
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-4338

Secretary of State

March Fong Eu (D)
1230 J St.
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-6371

Elections division,
William Durley, chief;
Tel. (916) 445-0820

Controller

Ken Cory (D)
1114 State Capitol
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-3028

Attorney General

George Deukmejian (R)
555 Capitol Mall, Suite 550
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-9555

350 McAllister St., Room 6000
San Francisco 94102
Tel. (415) 557-2544

3580 Wilshire Blvd., Room 800
Los Angeles 90010
Tel. (213) 736-2304

110 West A St.
San Diego 92101
Tel. (714) 237-7351

Board of Equalization

1020 N St.
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-6464

William Bennett (D), 3rd District, 1020 N St., Sacramento 95814 (P.O. Box 1799, Sacramento 95808), (916) 445-4081.

George R. Reilly (D), 1st District, State Bldg., 350 McAllister St., Room 2056, San Francisco 94102, (415) 557-1699.

Ernest J. Dronenburg Jr. (R), 2nd District, Chamber Building, 110 West C St., Suite 1709, San Diego 92101 (714) 237-7844.

Richard Nevins (D), 4th District, 20 E. Foothill Blvd., Arcadia 91006 (213) 350-6423.

State Controller Ken Cory (D) is an ex officio member.

State Supreme Court

Rose Elizabeth Bird, chief justice
Stanley Mosk, associate justice
Frank K. Richardson, associate justice
Frank Newman, associate justice
Otto Kaus, associate justice
Allen E. Broussard, associate justice
Cruz Reynoso, associate justice

350 McAllister St., Room 4250
San Francisco 94102
Tel. (415) 557-0589

3580 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles 90010
Tel. (213) 736-2902

Library and Courts Bldg., Room 100
Sacramento 95814
Tel. (916) 445-7524

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STATE DEPARTMENTS

Business, Transportation and Housing Agency

Lynn Schenk, agency secretary
1120 N St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-1332

Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control
Baxter Rice, director
1901 Broadway, Sacramento 95818
(916) 445-3221

State Banking Department
Richard Dominguez, superintendent
600 S. Commonwealth Ave., Los Angeles 90005 (213) 736-2479

Department of Corporations
Geraldine Green, commissioner
600 S. Commonwealth Ave., Los Angeles 90005 (213) 736-3481

Department of Economic and Business Development
Melinda C. Luedtke, director
1030 13th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-3962

Highway Patrol
Glen B. Craig, commissioner
2555 1st Ave., Sacramento 95818
(916) 445-7473

Department of Housing and Community Development
I. Donald Terner, director
921 10th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-5329

California Housing Finance Agency
Walter Farr, executive director
301 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-3991

Department of Insurance
Robert C. Quinn, commissioner
100 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-3245
600 S. Commonwealth Ave., Los Angeles 90005 (213) 736-2551

Department of Motor Vehicles
Doris V. Alexis, director
2415 1st Ave., Sacramento 95818
(P.O. Box 1828, Sacramento 95853)
(916) 445-5281

Department of Real Estate
1719 24th St., Sacramento 95816
(916) 445-3995

Department of Savings and Loan
Linda Tsao Yang, commissioner
350 Sansome St., San Francisco 94104
(415) 557-3666

Stephen P. Teale Data Center
David Lema, director
3031 F St., Sacramento 95816
(916) 445-2910

Department of Transportation
Adriana Gianturco, director
1120 N St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-2201

Health and Welfare Agency

Mario Obledo, agency secretary
1600 Ninth St., Room 460,
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-6951

Department of Aging
Janet L. Levy, director
1020 19th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-5290

Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs
Sally Davis, director
111 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-1940

Data Center
Russ Bohart, director
112 J St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-3086

Department of Developmental Services
David Loberg, director
1600 Ninth St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 323-3131

Employment Development Department
Douglas X. Patino, director
800 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-9212

Department of Health Services
Beverlee A. Myers, director
714 P St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-1248

Department of Mental Health
James T. Barter, acting director
1600 Ninth St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 323-8173

Department of Rehabilitation
Ed Roberts, director
830 K St. Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3971

Department of Social Services
Marion Woods, director
744 P St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-2077

Office of Statewide Health Planning and Development
Paul Smith, acting director
1600 Ninth St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-5834

Resources Agency

Huey Johnson, agency secretary
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-5656

Air Resources Board
Mary Nichols, chairwoman
1102 Q St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-5840

California Coastal Commission
Michael Fisher, director
631 Howard St., San Francisco 94105
(415) 543-8555

California Conservation Corps
John E. Dugan, director
1530 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-0307

Coastal Conservancy
Joseph Petrillo, executive officer
1212 Broadway, Oakland 94612
(415) 464-1070

Colorado River Board of California
Myron Holburt, chief engineer
107 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90012
(213) 620-4480

Department of Conservation
Jan Denton, director
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-1080

Department of Fish and Game
E. C. Fullerton, director
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3535

Department of Forestry
David Pesonen, director
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3976

Department of Boating and Waterways
Marty Mercado, director
1629 S St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-6281

Department of Parks and Recreation
Peter Dangermond, director
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-2358

Reclamation Board
Eldon Rinehart, general manager
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-9454

San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission
Michael Wilmar, executive director
30 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-3686

Solid Waste Management Board
John Hagerty, executive officer
1020 9th St., Suite 300, Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-3330

Water Resources Control Board
Carla Bard, chairwoman
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3993

Department of Water Resources
Ronald Robie, director
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-6582

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

State and Consumer Services Agency

Alice Lytle, agency secretary
1220 N St., Room 409,
Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-1935

Building Standards Commission
Wayne Jensen, executive secretary
915 Capitol Mall, Room 200
Sacramento 95814
(916) 323-6363

Department of Consumer Affairs
Richard Spohn, director
1020 N St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-4465

Department of Fair Employment and Housing
Joanne Lewis, director
1201 I St.
Sacramento 95814
(916) 323-5256

State Fire Marshal
Philip C. Favro, marshal
7171 Bowling Drive, Suite 800, Sacramento 95823 (916) 322-2370

Franchise Tax Board
Gerald Goldberg, executive officer
Aerojet Center, Sacramento 95867
(916) 355-0292

Department of General Services
David E. Janssen, director
915 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3441

State Personnel Board
Ronald Kurtz, executive officer
801 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-5291

Public Employees Retirement System
Carl Blechinger, executive officer
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(P.O. Box 1953, Sacramento 95809).
(916) 445-7629

State Teachers Retirement System
Michael Thome, executive officer
1010 Hurley Way, Sacramento 95825
(916) 920-7000

Department of Veterans Affairs
Manuel Val, director
1227 O St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3111

Youth & Adult Correctional Agency

Howard Way, agency secretary
1027 10th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 323-6001

Board of Prison Terms
Raymond Brown, chairman
545 Downtown Plaza, Suite 200
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-4071

Correction Industries Commission
Ray Specht, manager
1020 12th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-2817

Department of Corrections
Ruth Rushen, director
630 K St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-7688

Board of Corrections
Norma Lammers, executive officer
600 Bercut Dr., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-5073

Youth Authority
Antonio Amador, director
4241 Williamsbourgh Dr., Sacramento 95823
(916) 445-4673

Youth Offender Parole Board
4241 Williamsbourgh Dr., Sacramento 95823
(916) 445-1090

Other low-cost pamphlets with important political information

In addition to the **Roster and Government Guide,** the California Journal Press publishes a variety of bargain pamphlets containing basic information on California government and politics. Handy guides covering views of the state's political landscape are available for $1.50 or less. The current selection:

Reapportionment '81

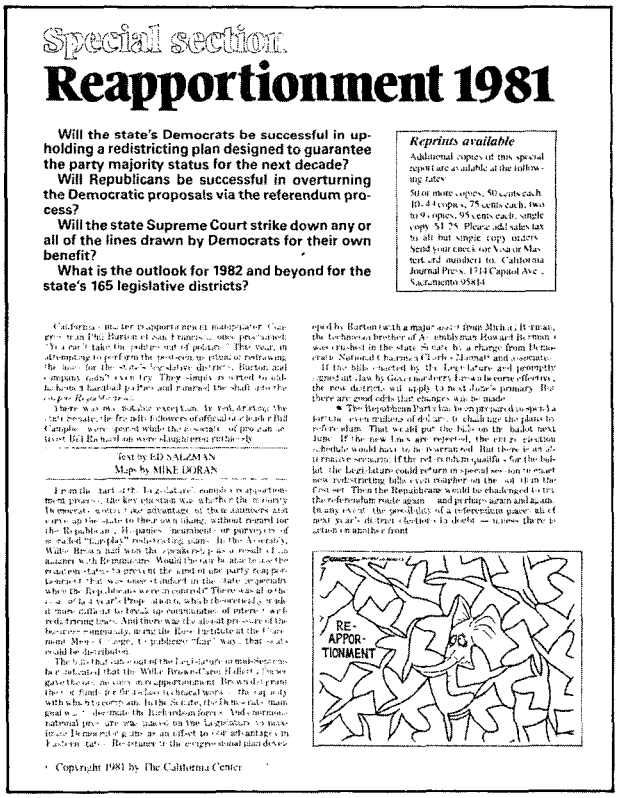
Only the *California Journal* has published a detailed, low-cost booklet describing all 165 of the proposed legislative and congressional districts for next year's elections — complete with nine maps. This 16-page **Reapportionment 1981** special report was published in the *Journal* but is available as a separate item at the following prices: 50 or more copies, 50 cents each; 10-49 copies, 75 cents each; two to 9 copies, 95 cents each; single copy, $1.25.

Campaign-law guide

The 1982-83 **Practical Guide to State and National Campaign Reform Laws** is a layperson's trip through the maze of election laws in an easy-to-understand question-and-answer format. Prices: 100 or more copies, 50 cents each; 10-99 copies, 60 cents each; 2-9 copies, 85 cents each; single copy, $1.50.

Ballot-proposition booklets

Twice during 1982, the California Journal Press will make available pamphlets explaining statewide ballot propositions — the background of each measure and the arguments pro and con. Prices will be announced in the **California Journal** as each pamphlet is published.


Special section

Reapportionment 1981

Will the state's Democrats be successful in upholding a redistricting plan designed to guarantee the party majority status for the next decade?
Will Republicans be successful in overturning the Democratic proposals via the referendum process?
Will the state Supreme Court strike down any or all of the lines drawn by Democrats for their own benefit?
What is the outlook for 1982 and beyond for the state's 165 legislative districts?

Reprints available
Additional copies of this special report are available at the following rates:
50 or more copies, 50 cents each
10-49 copies, 75 cents each, two to 9 copies, 95 cents each, single copy $1.25. Please add sales tax to all but single copy orders. Send your check or Visa or MasterCard number to: California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814

Text by ED SALZMAN
Maps by MIKE DORAN

RE-APPOR-TIONMENT

Copyright 1981 by The California Center

Send your orders to the California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814. Postage and handling are free on pre-paid, Visa and MasterCard orders. Add sales tax to all but single-copy orders.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOARDS, COMMISSIONS AND DEPARTMENTS

Office of Administrative Law
Gene Livingston, director
1414 K St., Suite 600
Sacramento 95814
(916) 323-6221

Agricultural Labor Relations Board
Boren Chertkov, general counsel
915 Capitol Mall, 3rd Floor, Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-7017

Alcoholic Beverage Appeals Board
Floyd R. Mitzner, chief counsel
1215 O St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-1005

California Arts Council
William Cook, director
1901 Broadway, Sacramento 95818
(916) 445-1530

Community Colleges
Gerald C. Hayward, chancellor
1238 S St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3752

State Board of Control
Gary L. Longholm, executive secretary
926 J St., Suite 300, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-1540

Commission for Economic Development
Rex Hime, executive director
State Capitol, Room 1028
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 445-1025

Office of Economic Opportunity
Alice Huffman, director
1600 Ninth St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 323-3699

State Board of Education
Ann Leavenworth, president
721 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-9016

Public Employment Relations Board
Harry Gluck, chairman
1031 18th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-3088

Energy Commission
John Geesman, chairman
1111 Howe Ave., Sacramento 95825
(916) 920-6103

Fair Political Practices Commission
Ted Prim, executive director
1100 K Street Mall, Sacramento 95814
(P.O. Box 807, Sacramento 95804)
(916) 322-5660

Department of Finance
Mary Ann Graves, director
1145 State Capitol, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3878

Fish and Game Commission
Harold C. Cribbs, executive secretary
1416 Ninth St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-5708

Department of Food and Agriculture
Richard E. Rominger, director
1220 N St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-9280

California Health Facilities Commission
Joseph Hafkenschiel, executive director
717 K St., 1st Floor, Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-2810

California Horse Racing Board
Nathaniel Colley, chairman
455 Capitol Mall, Suite 230, Sacramento 95814 (916) 322-9228

Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy
(Little Hoover Commission)
Les Halcomb, executive director
11th and L Bldg., Suite 550, Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-2125

Department of Industrial Relations
Don Vial, director
525 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102 (415) 557-3356

Judicial Council of California
Ralph J. Gampell, director
350 McAlister St., San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-3203

Commission on Judicial Performance
Jack E. Frankel, director-chief counsel
State Building, San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-0686

State Lands Commission
Bill Northrup, executive officer
1807 13th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-4105
100 Oceangate, Suite 300, Long Beach 90802 (213) 590-5201

Division of Libraries (State Library)
Gary E. Strong, state librarian
Library and Courts Bldg., 914 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814 (P.O. Box 2037, Sacramento 95809) (916) 445-4374

Military Department
Frank Schober Jr., commanding general
2829 Watt Ave., Sacramento 95821
(P.O. Box 214405, Sacramento 95821)
(916) 920-6605

Mining and Geology Board
Doug Sprague, special representative
610 Bercut Drive, Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-1082

Native American Heritage Commission
William J. Pink, executive secretary
1400 10th St., Rm. 109
Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-7791

Parks and Recreation Commission
James Whitehead, chairman
1416 Ninth St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-2328

California Postsecondary Education Commission
Patrick Callan, director
1020 12th St., 2nd Floor, Sacramento 95814 (916) 445-7933

Public Broadcasting Commission
Joel Kugelmass, executive secretary
915 Capitol Mall, Suite 235, Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-3727

Public Utilities Commission
Joseph Bodovitz, executive director
350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102
(415) 557-3914

Seismic Safety Commission
Robert Olson, executive director
1900 K St., Suite 100, Sacramento 95814
(916) 322-4917

California State University and Colleges
Glenn Dumke, chancellor
400 Golden Shore, Long Beach 90802
(213) 590-5506

Commission on the Status of Women
Pamela Faust, director
926 J St., Room 1506, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-3173

Student Aid Commission
Arthur Marmaduke, director
1410 5th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-0880

Commission for Teacher Preparation and Licensing
John Brown, executive director
1020 O St., Room 222, Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-7254

California Transportation Commission
Michael Evanhoe, executive director
1120 N St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-1690

University of California
David Saxon, president
714 University Hall, Berkeley 94720
(415) 642-6000

Water Commission
Orville Abbott, executive officer
1416 Ninth St., Room 1104-4,
Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-8750

Wildlife Conservation Board
Chester Hart, executive officer
1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814
(916) 445-8448

Credit cards spoken here

VISA

WE HONOR master charge

MasterCard and **Visa** may be used to purchase subscriptions and books from California Journal Press. When ordering, send just the card number — not the card itself — and we'll take care of the rest of the paperwork. Send your orders to the Press at 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA'S CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION

Senators

Name	Party	California Offices*	Telephone
Alan Cranston	D	5757 W. Century Blvd., # 515, Los Angeles 90045	(213) 642-5088
		45 Polk St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-8440
		3040 N. 7th St., Fresno 93703	(209) 226-7277
S. I. Hayakawa	R	1390 Market St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-8686
		1130 O St., Fresno 93721	(209) 487-5512
		523 W. 6th St., Los Angeles 90014	(213) 688-6081
		880 Front St., San Diego 92188	(714) 293-5555
		3848 Campus Dr., Newport Beach 92660	(714) 545-7175

Representatives

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Office**	Telephone
Anderson, Glenn M.	D	32	Los Angeles (San Pedro)	300 Long Beach Blvd., Long Beach 90801	(213) 548-2551
Badham, Robert	R	40	Orange (southern), San Diego (northern)	1649 Westcliff Dr., Newport Beach 92660	(714) 631-0040
Beilenson, Anthony	D	23	Los Angeles (Encino, Beverly Hills)	11000 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 14223, Los Angeles 90024	(213) 824-7801
Brown, George E. Jr.	D	36	San Bernardino, Riverside (urban)	657 N. La Cadena Dr., Colton 92324	(714) 825-2472
Burgener, Clair W.	R	43	San Diego (Del Mar, El Cajon), Imperial	880 Front St., Room 5S35, San Diego 92188	(714) 231-1912
Burton, John	D	5	Marin, parts of San Francisco, Sonoma	450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-1333
Burton, Phillip	D	6	Most of San Francisco	450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 556-4862
Chappie, Eugene	R	1	Shasta, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity, Modoc, Butte, Sierra, Lassen, Plumas, Nevada, Placer, Yuba, Glenn, part of Sacramento	270 E. 4th St., Chico 95926	(916) 893-8363
Clausen, Donald H.	R	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, Napa, part of Sonoma	777 Sonoma Ave., Santa Rosa 95404	(707) 525-4316
Coelho, Tony	D	15	Merced, Mariposa, Madera, part of Stanislaus and Fresno	415 W. 18th, Merced 95340	(209) 383-4455
Danielson, George E.	D	30	Los Angeles (Monterey Park, El Monte)	8873 E. Valley, Rosemead 91770	(213) 688-3454
Dannemeyer, William	R	39	Orange, (Anaheim, Fullerton)	1370 Brea Blvd., Fullerton 92635	(714) 992-0141
Dellums, Ronald V.	D	8	Alameda (northern), part of Contra Costa	201 13th St., Room 105, Oakland 94617	(415) 763-0370
Dixon, Julian	D	28	L.A. (Inglewood, Culver City)	101 N. La Brea, Suite 301, Inglewood 90301	(213) 678-5424
Dornan, Robert	R	27	L.A. (Coastal)	6151 W. Century Blvd., Suite 1018, Los Angeles 90045	(213) 642-5111
Dreier, David	R	35	L.A. (Covina, Pomona), west San Bernardino	917 S. Village Oaks Dr., Covina 91724	(213) 339-9078
Dymally, Mervyn	D	31	L.A. (Hawthorne, Compton)	322 W. Compton Blvd., Compton 90220	(213) 637-7401
Edwards, Don	D	10	Alameda (southern), Santa Clara (northern)	1625 The Alameda, San Jose 95126	(408) 292-0143
Fazio, Vic	D	4	Colusa, Sutter, Yolo, Solano, part of Sacramento	823 Marin St., Room 8, Vallejo 94590	(707) 552-0720
Fiedler, Bobbi	R	21	L.A. (San Fernando Valley)	14600 Roscoe Blvd., Panorama City 91402	(213) 787-1776
Goldwater, Barry, Jr.	R	20	Ventura (eastern), L.A. (northwestern)	23241 Ventura Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 883-1233
Grisham, Wayne	R	33	L.A. (Whittier, Downey)	13601 E. Whittier Blvd., Whittier 90605	(213) 945-3061
Hawkins, Augustus	D	29	L.A. (Watts)	936 W. Manchester Ave., Los Angeles 90044	(213) 750-0260
Hunter, Duncan	R	42	San Diego (southwest)	2530 Highland Ave., National City 92050	(714) 474-8554
Lagomarsino, Robert	R	19	Santa Barbara, parts of San Luis Obispo and Ventura	5740 Ralston St., Ventura 93003	(805) 642-2200
Lantos, Tom	D	11	Most of San Mateo	520 S. El Camino Real, San Mateo 94402	(415) 342-0300
Lewis, Jerry	R	37	San Bernardino and Riverside (rural)	101 S. 6th, Redlands 92373	(714) 792-5901
Lowery, Bill	R	41	San Diego (Mission Valley)	880 Front St., San Diego 92188	(714) 231-0957
Lungren, Dan	R	34	Los Angeles (eastern Long Beach), north coastal Orange	5514 Britton Dr., Long Beach 90815	(213) 594-9761
McCloskey, Paul, Jr.	R	12	Santa Clara (northwestern), some of San Mateo	305 Grant Ave., Palo Alto 94306	(415)326-7383
Matsui, Robert	D	3	Most of Sacramento	650 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814	(916) 440-3543
Miller, George	D	7	Most of Contra Costa	367 Civic Dr., Pleasant Hill 94523	(415) 687-3260
Mineta, Norman	D	13	Santa Clara (southern)	1245 S. Winchester Blvd., San Jose 95128	(408) 984-6045
Moorhead, Carlos J.	R	22	L.A. (Burbank, Glendale)	420 N. Brand Blvd., Room 404, Glendale 91203	(213) 247-8445
Panetta, Leon	D	16	Santa Cruz, Monterey, San Benito, part of San Luis Obispo	380 Alvarado, Monterey 93940	(408) 649-3555
Pashayan, Charles	R	17	Kings, most of Tulare, part of Fresno	1533 E. Shields, Fresno 93704	(209) 487-5487
Patterson, Jerry	D	38	Orange (Buena Park, Westminster, Santa Ana)	34 Civic Center Plaza, Suite 921, Santa Ana 92701	(714) 835-3811
Rousselot, John H.	R	26	L.A. (Alhambra, Glendora)	735 W. Duarte Rd., Arcadia 91006	(213) 447-8125
Roybal, Edward R.	D	25	L.A. (Downtown, East L.A.)	300 N. Los Angeles St., Los Angeles 90012	(213) 688-4870
Shumway, Norman	R	14	San Joaquin, El Dorado, Amador, Alpine, Calaveras, Mono, Tuolumne, parts of Sacramento and Stanislaus	1045 N. El Dorado St., Stockton 95202	(209) 464-7612
Stark, Fortney (Pete)	D	9	Alameda (central and eastern)	7 Eastmont Mall, Oakland 94605	(415) 635-1092
Thomas, William	R	18	Inyo, Kern, parts of Tulare and Los Angeles (desert)	1830 Truxtun Ave., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 327-3611
Waxman, Henry A.	D	24	Los Angeles (Hollywood)	8425 West 3rd, Los Angeles 90048	(213) 651-1040

*Mail for senators may be addressed to New Senate Office building, Washington, D.C. 20510, tel. (202) 224-3121.
**Mail for members of the House may be addressed to House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515, tel. (202) 224-3121.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Subscribe To California Journal

The Monthly Analysis of State Government and Politics

Every month the **Journal** brings you the personalities and issues that make this state the most interesting in the nation.

. . . Stories about people and power
. . . Insights into elections and politics
. . . Coverage of environmental affairs
. . . Reports on minorities and the media
. . . Forecasts of coming conflicts
. . . AND MUCH MORE.

COVERAGE IN DEPTH

You will find the **California Journal** particularly valuable in keeping track of the following areas of major coverage.

POLITICS

You get the only regular statewide reporting on political campaigns: early jockeying of future candidates, political reform and campaign finance, complete election results and much more.

LEGISLATIVE COVERAGE

The **Journal** keeps you informed **four ways** on key developments in the Legislature.

First, regular analytical articles cover key issues and personalities.

Second, Charting the Legislature lists the current status of the major bills.

Third, Roll Call records how each of your representatives votes.

Fourth, the annual Legislative Summary describes the major bills that were vetoed and signed into law by the governor.

COURTS

This feature summarizes decisions (and who made them) on major controversial issues.

PERSPECTIVE FROM WASHINGTON

Leo Rennert, our respected Washington correspondent, keeps you up-to-date on the latest issues involving your representatives from California. He keeps you informed on the California perspective on the Presidency.

Journal subscribers receive the following special inserts **FREE:**

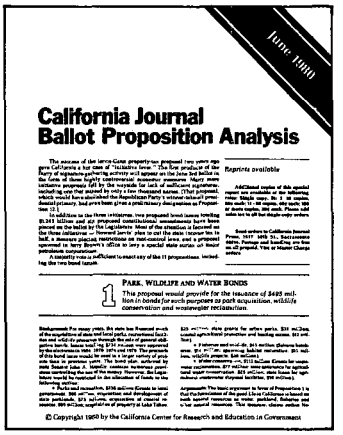
ROSTER & GOVERNMENT GUIDE

BALLOT PROPOSITIONS:

Both the pros and cons of each proposition are discussed, with identification of the people and organizations for or against each issue. Every subscriber receives this **FREE** booklet before each election.

CAMPAIGN GUIDE:

This 12-page booklet, prepared in an easy-to-understand question-and-answer format, explains the myriad new campaign reform laws. It is published every election year and is **FREE** to subscribers.


June 1980

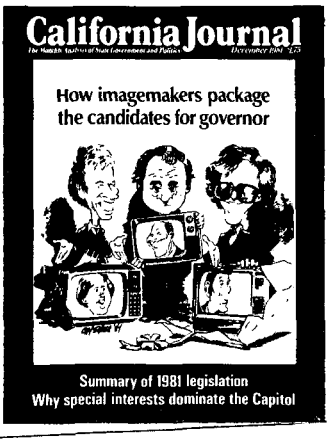
California Journal
Ballot Proposition Analysis

Reprints available

1 PARK, WILDLIFE AND WATER BONDS

The proposal would provide for the issuance of $495 million in bonds for such purposes as park acquisition, wildlife conservation and waterquality reclamation.

© Copyright 1980 by the California Center for Research and Education in Government

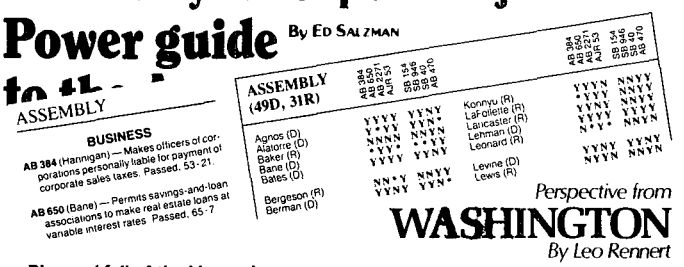

California Journal
How imagemakers package the candidates for governor
Summary of 1981 legislation
Why special interests dominate the Capitol

California's future under Proposition 13

The promise of 1982: dream year for political junkies

Power guide to the ...

By Ed Salzman


ASSEMBLY

BUSINESS

AB 384 (Hannigan) — Makes officers of corporations personally liable for payment of corporate sales taxes. Passed, 53-21.

AB 650 (Bane) — Permits savings-and-loan associations to make real estate loans at variable interest rates. Passed, 65-7

ASSEMBLY (49D, 31R)

AB 384 SB 154 AB 2271 SB 949 AJR 53 AB 470

Agnos (D) YYYY YYNY
Alatorre (D) YYYY YYNY
Baker (R) NNNN NNYN
Bane (D) YYY• •YY•
Bates (D) YYYY YYNY
Bergeson (R) NNYY NNYY
Berman (D) YYNY YYN•
Konnyu (R)
Lafollette (R)
Lancaster (R)
Lehman (D)
Leonard (R)
Levine (D)
Lewis (R)

YYYN NNYY
•YYY YNYY
YYNY NNYY
YYYY YYYY
N••• NNYN
YYNY YYNY
NNYN NNYN

Perspective from WASHINGTON
By Leo Rennert

Rise and fall of the kingmakers

SAVE $8.00

SUBSCRIBE NOW $22.00

Just return the postage-paid card or write to California Journal, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814 to start your subscription. You **SAVE $8.00** from the regular newsstand price.

DOUBLE BONUS OFFER

If you send payment with your order you will receive one extra month free — **13 MONTHS FOR THE PRICE OF 12.**

GUARANTEE

If you are not completely satisfied, you may cancel your subscription at any time and receive a refund on the unused portion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

Senate

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Offices*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Alquist, Alfred E.	D	11	Alameda, San Benito, Santa Clara	777 N. 1st St. San Jose 95112	(408) 286-8318	445-9740
Ayala, Ruben S.	D	32	Los Angeles, San Bernardino	515 N. Arrowhead Ave. San Bernardino 92401	(714) 884-3165	445-6868
Beverly, Robert G.	R	27	Los Angeles	1611 S. Pacific Coast Highway Redondo Beach 90277	(213) 540-1611	445-6447
Boatwright, Dan	D	7	Contra Costa	1035 Detroit Ave. Concord 94518	(415) 689-1973	445-6083
Campbell, William	R	33	Los Angeles	7624 Painter Ave., Whittier 90602	(213) 693-8284	445-2848
Carpenter, Paul B.	D	37	Orange	5400 Orange Ave., Cypress 90630	(714) 952-3201	445-5581
Craven, William	R	38	Imperial, Riverside, San Diego	550 W. Vista Way, Vista 92083	(714) 726-7676	445-3731
Davis, Ed	R	19	Los Angeles, Ventura	6700 Fallbrook Ave., Canoga Park 91307	(213) 999-0070	445-8873
Dills, Ralph C.	D	28	Los Angeles	16921 S. Western Ave., Gardena 90247	(213) 324-4969	445-5953
Doolittle, John	R	3	Sacramento	5777 Madison Ave., Sacramento 95841	(916) 338-5930	445-5788
Ellis, Jim	R	39	San Diego	2755 Navajo Rd., El Cajon 92020	(714) 464-7204	445-3952
Foran, John F.	D	6	San Francisco, San Mateo	15 Southgate Ave., Daly City 94015	(415) 755-1766	445-0503
Garamendi, John	D	13	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mono, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Tuolumne	31 E. Channel St., Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7930	445-2407
Garcia, Alex P.	D	24	Los Angeles	205 S. Broadway Los Angeles 90012	(213) 628-5155	445-3456
Garcia, Marz	R	10	San Mateo, Santa Clara	734 Menlo Ave., Menlo Park 94025	(415) 324-8932	445-0870
Greene, Bill	D	29	Los Angeles	8514 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90003	(213) 620-5600	445-2104
Holmdahl, John W.	D	8	Alameda	22300 Foothill Blvd., Hayward 94541	(415) 538-4844	445-6671
Johnson, Ray	R	1	Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Lassen, Modoc, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, Yuba	3609 Bechelli, Redding 96002	(916) 244-6006	445-6747
Keene, Barry	D	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Marin, Mendocino, Sonoma	30 N. San Pedro Rd., San Rafael 94901	(415) 472-7540	445-3375
Maddy, Ken	R	14	Fresno, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, Stanislaus	1310 Security Bank Bldg., Fulton Mall, Fresno 93721	(209) 485-6260	445-9600
Marks, Milton	R	5	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-1437	445-1412
Mello, Henry	D	17	Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz	1200 Aguajito Rd., Monterey 93940	(408) 373-0773	445-5843
Mills, James R.	D	40	San Diego	815 3rd Ave., Chula Vista 92011	(714) 427-7812	445-6767
Montoya, Joseph	D	26	Los Angeles	11001 Valley Mall, El Monte 91731	(213) 575-6956	445-3386
Nielsen, Jim	R	4	Napa, Sacramento, Solano, Sonoma, Yolo	415 Main St., Woodland 95695	(916) 662-7315	445-3353
O'Keefe, Dan	R	12	Santa Clara	10020 N. De Anza Blvd., Cupertino 95014	(408) 257-5083	445-3104
Petris, Nicholas C.	D	9	Alameda, Contra Costa	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	(415) 464-1333	445-6577
Presley, Robert B.	D	34	Riverside, San Bernardino	3600 Lime St., Riverside 92501	(714) 781-4111	445-9781
Rains, Omer L.	D	18	Santa Barbara, Ventura	501 Poli St., Ventura 93001	(805) 654-4648	445-5405
Richardson, H.L.	R	25	Los Angeles	735 W. Duarte Rd., Arcadia 91006	(213) 445-4404	445-3688
Robbins, Alan	D	20	Los Angeles	6320 Van Nuys Blvd., Van Nuys 91401	(213) 988-5894	445-3121
Roberti, David A.	D	23	Los Angeles	6671 Sunset Blvd., Hollywood 90028	(213) 464-1178	445-8390
Russell, Newton R.	R	21	Los Angeles	401 N. Brand Blvd., Glendale 91203	(213) 247-7021	445-5976
Schmitz, John	R	36	Orange	4600 Campus Dr., Newport Beach 92660	(714) 979-9670	445-5831
Sieroty, Alan	D	22	Los Angeles	11340 W. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles 90064	(213) 479-4244	445-7928
Speraw, Ollie	R	31	Los Angeles	1800 E. Wardlow Rd., Long Beach 90807	(213) 426-7021	445-4961
Stiern, Walter W.	D	16	Inyo, Kern, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	1326 H St., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 395-2797	445-6637
Vuich, Rose Ann	D	15	Fresno, Kern, Kings, Tulare	317-B N. Douty, Hanford 93230	(209) 582-2549	445-4641
Watson, Diane E.	D	30	Los Angeles	4401 Crenshaw Blvd., Los Angeles 90043	(213) 295-6655	445-5215
Vacancy		35	Orange	1441 N. Harbor Blvd., Fullerton 92635	(714) 879-2345	445-4264

*During session, mail for senators may be addressed to the State Capitol, Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Assembly

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Offices*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Agnos, Art	D	16	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2253	445-8253
Alatorre, Richard	D	55	Los Angeles (East Los Angeles)	6801 N. Figueroa St. Los Angeles 90042	(213) 255-7111	445-7587
Baker, William	R	10	Contra Costa (eastern)	1243 Alpine Rd., Suite 102, Walnut Creek 94596	(415) 932-2537	445-8528
Bane, Tom	D	40	Los Angeles (N. Hollywood, Van Nuys, Reseda)	5430 Van Nuys Blvd. Van Nuys 91401	(213) 986-8090	445-3134
Bates, Tom	D	12	Alameda, Contra Costa	3923 Grand Ave., Oakland 94610	(415) 464-0786	445-7554
Bergeson, Marian	R	74	Orange (coastal)	4500 Campus Dr., Newport Beach 92660	(714) 641-7441	445-7222
Berman, Howard	D	43	Los Angeles (Beverly Hills, Westwood)	520 S. Sepulveda Blvd., Los Angeles 90049	(213) 476-7646	445-4956
Bosco, Douglas H.	D	2	Del Norte, Humboldt, Mendocino, Lake, Sonoma (northern)	140 High St., Sebastopol 95472	(707) 823-4450	445-8360
Brown, Dennis	R	58	Los Angeles (Long Beach)	3840 Woodruff Ave., Long Beach 90808	(213) 420-2661	445-8492
Brown, Willie L., Jr.	D	17	San Francisco	540 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-0784	445-8077
Campbell, Robert	D	11	Contra Costa (western)	2901 Macdonald Ave., Richmond 94804	(415) 237-8171	445-7890
Chacon, Peter R.	D	79	San Diego (City of San Diego, Coronado)	5106 Federal Blvd., San Diego 92105	(714) 263-2148	445-7610
Cortese, Dominic	D	24	San Benito, Santa Clara (rural)	3535 Ross Ave., San Jose 95124	(408) 269-6500	445-8243
Costa, Jim	D	30	Madera, Mariposa, part of Fresno	1111 Fulton Mall, Fresno 93721	(209) 264-3078	445-7558
Cramer, Jim	D	65	Los Angeles (Pomona) and San Bernardino (Ontario)	320 West G St., Ontario 91762	(714) 983-6499	445-8490
Deddeh, Wadie P.	D	80	San Diego (National City, Chula Vista)	815 3rd Ave., Chula Vista 92011	(714) 427-7080	445-7556
Duffy, Gordon	R	32	Kings, most of Tulare, part of Kern	321 N. Douty, Hanford 93230	(209) 582-4431	445-2931
Elder, David	D	57	Los Angeles (Long Beach)	3651 Atlantic Ave., Long Beach 90807	(213) 427-8921	445-7454
Farr, Sam	D	28	Monterey, Santa Cruz	1200 Aguajito, Monterey 93940	(408) 646-1980	445-8496
Felando, Gerald	R	52	Los Angeles (San Pedro)	1514 Cabrillo Ave., Torrance 90501	(213) 320-6262	445-7906
Filante, William	R	9	Marin, part of Sonoma	30 N. San Pedro Rd., San Rafael 94903	(415) 479-4920	445-7827
Floyd, Richard E.	D	53	Los Angeles (Hawthorne, Gardena)	12101 Crenshaw, Hawthorne 90250	(213) 970-1918	445-0965
Frazee, Robert C.	R	76	San Diego (La Jolla, Del Mar)	2725 Jefferson St., Carlsbad 92008	(714) 434-1749	445-2390
Frizzelle, Nolan	R	73	Orange	18600 Main St., Huntington Beach 92648	(714) 842-7335	445-8377
Goggin, Terry	D	66	San Bernardino (urban)	290 North D St., San Bernardino 92401	(714) 884-1241	445-4843
Greene, Leroy F.	D	6	Sacramento	5925 Fair Oaks Blvd., Carmichael 95608	(916) 481-6540	445-7807
Hallett, Carol	R	29	Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara	1145 Marsh St., San Luis Obispo 93401	(805) 549-3381	445-7795
Hannigan, Tom	D	4	Yolo, parts of Solano and Sacramento	1000 Webster St., Fairfield 94533	(707) 429-2383	445-8368
Harris, Elihu	D	13	Alameda (northwestern)	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	(415) 464-0339	445-7442
Hart, Gary	D	35	Most of Santa Barbara	1216 State St., Santa Barbara 93101	(805) 966-1766	445-8292
Herger, Wally	R	3	Colusa, Sutter, Yuba, Sierra, Nevada, Placer, half of Butte	1469 Butte House Rd., Yuba City 95991	(916) 673-2201	445-7298
Hughes, Teresa P.	D	47	Los Angeles (Huntington Park)	3253 S. Hoover St., Los Angeles 90007	(213) 747-7451	445-7498
Imbrecht, Charles	R	36	Ventura	801 S. Victoria Ave., Ventura 93003	(805) 654-4501	445-7402
Ingalls, Walter	D	68	Riverside (urban)	3610 Central Ave., Riverside 92506	(714) 781-3222	445-1720
Ivers, William H.	R	42	Los Angeles (Glendale, Pasadena)	1740 Broadway, Glendale 91208	(213) 248-4266	445-8211
Johnson, Ross	R	69	Orange	1501 N. Harbor Blvd., Fullerton 92635	(714) 738-5853	445-7448
Johnston, Pat	D	26	Parts of San Joaquin and Stanislaus	31 E. Channel St. #306 Stockton 95202	(209) 948-7479	445-7931
Kapiloff, Lawrence	D	78	San Diego (Mission Hills, Linda Vista)	967 Hornblend, San Diego 92109	(714) 270-5500	445-7210
Katz, Richard	D	39	Los Angeles (eastern San Fernando Valley)	15226 Parthenia St., Sepulveda 91343	(213) 894-3671	445-1616
Kelley, David	R	75	Imperial, desert parts of Riverside, San Diego	41555 E. Florida, Hemet 92343	(714) 652-5023	445-7852
Konnyu, Ernest	R	22	Santa Clara (southern)	7337 Bollinger Rd., Cupertino 95014	(408) 446-4114	445-8305
Lafollette, Marian	R	38	Los Angeles (Malibu Coast), part of Ventura	23241 Ventura Blvd., Woodland Hills 91364	(213) 883-8400	445-8366

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Assembly (continued)

Name	Party	District	Counties	Main District Offices*	Telephone Numbers (District)	(Capitol)
Lancaster, Bill	R	62	Los Angeles (Covina, Claremont)	362 E. Rowland St., Covina 91723	(213) 332-6271	445-9234
Lehman, Richard	D	31	Fresno, Tulare	55 Shaw Ave., Clovis 93612	(209) 298-6571	445-8514
Leonard, William	R	67	San Bernardino, Riverside (rural)	405 E. Citrus Ave., Redlands 92373	(714) 862-5251	445-7552
Levine, Mel	D	44	Los Angeles (Beverly Hills)	9581 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles 90035	(213) 277-5228	445-1676
Lewis, John R.	R	70	Orange (city of Orange, Tustin)	626 E. Chapman Ave. Orange 92666	(714) 997-9270	445-2778
Lockyer, Bill	D	14	Alameda (central)	2450 Washington Ave., San Leandro 94577	(415) 464-0847	445-8160
Marguth, Gilbert R., Jr.	R	15	Alameda (southern, eastern)	1785 Barcelona St., Livermore 94550	(415) 447-7370	445-7380
Martinez, Matthew G.	D	59	Los Angeles (Alhambra, Monterey Park)	1304 W. Beverly Blvd., Montebello 90640	(213) 721-2904	445-0854
McAlister, Alister	D	25	Santa Clara (northeastern), part of Alameda	554 Valley Way, Milpitas 95035	(415) 791-2151	445-7874
McCarthy, Leo T.	D	18	San Francisco, part of San Mateo	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	(415) 557-2662	445-8994
Moore, Gwen	D	49	Los Angeles (Culver City)	3731 Stocker St., Los Angeles 90008	(213) 292-0605	445-8800
Moorhead, Jean	D	5	Sacramento	6021-A Madison Ave., Carmichael 95608	(916) 334-8228	445-4445
Mountjoy, Richard	R	61	Los Angeles (San Gabriel, Arcadia)	406 S. 1st St., Arcadia 91006	(213) 446-3134	445-7234
Naylor, Robert W.	R	20	San Mateo (southern)	621 Middlefield Rd., Redwood City 94063	(415) 365-1426	445-8188
Nolan, Patrick J.	R	41	Los Angeles (Burbank, Glendale)	143 S. Glendale Ave., Glendale 91205	(213)240-6330	445-8364
Papan, Louis J.	D	19	San Mateo (northern)	345-E Serramonte Plaza, Daly City 94015	(415) 756-6400	445-8020
Robinson, Richard	D	72	Orange (Santa Ana, Garden Grove)	11400 Stanford Ave., Garden Grove 92640	(714) 530-7200	445-7333
Rogers, Don	R	33	Most of Kern	412 18th St., Bakersfield 93301	(805) 395-2927	445-8498
Roos, Michael	D	46	Los Angeles (Wilshire, Silver Lake)	600 S. New Hampshire, Los Angeles 90005	(213) 386-8042	445-7644
Rosenthal, Herschel	D	45	Los Angeles (Fairfax, Studio City)	8425 W. 3rd St., Los Angeles 90048	(213) 655-9750	445-7440
Ryan, Marilyn	R	51	Los Angeles (coastal)	1617 Pacific Coast Hwy., Suite A, Redondo Beach 90277	(213) 540-8182	445-2112
Sebastiani, Don	R	8	Napa, Solano, Sonoma	800 Broadway, Sonoma 95476	(707) 996-2792	445-8102
Sher, Byron	D	21	Santa Clara (northwestern)	1265 Montecito Ave., Mountain View 94040	(415) 961-6031	445-7632
Statham, Stan	R	1	Butte, Glenn, Lassen, Modoc, Plumas, Shasta, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity	1415 Court St., Redding 96001	(916) 244-6300	445-7266
Stirling, Dave	R	64	Los Angeles	13601 E. Whittier Blvd., Whittier 90605	(213) 945-1524	445-7550
Stirling, Larry	R	77	San Diego	7051 Alvarado Rd., La Mesa 92041	(714) 237-7970	445-6161
Tanner, Sally	D	60	Los Angeles (El Monte, La Puente)	11100 Valley Blvd.,Suite 106, El Monte 91731	(213) 442-9100	445-7783
Thurman, John E.	D	27	Most of Stanislaus and Merced	930 15th St., Modesto 95354	(209) 576-6211	445-8570
Torres, Art	D	56	Los Angeles (downtown, City of Commerce)	5261 E. Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles 90022	(213) 728-8882	445-1670
Tucker, Curtis R.	D	50	Los Angeles (Inglewood, Westchester)	1 Manchester Blvd., Inglewood 90306	(213) 677-1188	445-7533
Vasconcellos, John	D	23	Santa Clara (urban)	2435 Forest Ave., San Jose 95128	(408) 241-6900	445-4253
Vicencia, Frank	D	54	Los Angeles (Compton)	8040 E. Alondra Blvd., Paramount 90723	(213) 531-0265	445-7486
Waters, Maxine	D	48	Los Angeles	7900 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 90001	(213) 582-7371	445-2363
Waters, Norman	D	7	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mono, San Joaquin, Tuolumne, Sacramento	218 W. Pine St., Lodi 95240	(209) 334-0568	445-8343
Wray, Chester B.	D	71	Orange	12777 Valley View, Garden Grove 92645	(714) 898-7844	445-6233
Wright, Cathie	R	37	Los Angeles (San Fernando Valley), part of Ventura	20961 Devonshire St., Chatsworth 91311	(213) 709-1273	445-7676
Wyman, Phil	R	34	Inyo, parts of Kern, Los Angeles, San Bernardino	813 West Avenue J, Lancaster 93534	(805) 948-8447	445-3266
Young, Bruce E.	D	63	Los Angeles	8141 E. Second St., Suite 515, Downey 90241	(213) 923-0325	445-6047

*During legislative session, mail for Assembly members may be addressed to the State Capitol, Sacramento, 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Legislative leadership

Assembly

Speaker: Willie L. Brown Jr. (D)
Speaker pro Tempore: Leo T. McCarthy (D)
Majority Floor Leader: Mike Roos (D)
Minority Floor Leader: Robert Naylor (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman: Doug Bosco
Republican Caucus Chairman: Richard Mountjoy

Senate

President: Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb (R)
President pro Tempore: David Roberti (D)
Majority Floor Leader: John Garamendi (D)
Minority Floor Leader: William Campbell (R)
Democratic Caucus Chairman: Paul Carpenter
Republican Caucus Chairman: Ken Maddy

SENATE STANDING COMMITTEES

Rules (3D, 2R):
Chairman Roberti (D) Vice Chairman Johnson (R); Craven (R); Keene (D); Petris (D).
Executive officer, Jerry Zanelli, 445-4311.

Agriculture and Water Resources (6D, 5R):
Chairman Ayala (D); Vice Chairman Nielsen (R); Craven (R); A. Garcia (D); Johnson (R); Maddy (R); Mello (D) O'Keefe (R); Presley (D); Stiern (D); Vuich (D).
Consultant, Stephen Macola, 445-2206.

Banking and Commerce (6D, 4R):
Chairwoman Vuich (D); Vice Chairman Ellis (R); Beverly (R); Carpenter (D); Foran (D); Keene (D); Rains (D); Robbins (D); Russell (R); Schmitz (R).
Consultant, Terry J. Miller, 445-6306.

Business and Professions (5D, 4R):
Chairman A. Garcia (D); Vice Chairman Mello (D); Craven (R); Doolittle (R); Ellis (R); Marks (R); Montoya (D); Robbins (D); Watson (D).
Consultant, Michael J. Wadlé, 445-3435.

Constitutional Amendments (3D, 2R):
Chair, vacant; Vice Chairman Stiern (D); Davis (R); Rains (D); Schmitz (R); Watson (D).
Consultant, Steve Buswell, 445-2802.

Education (6D, 5R):
Chairman Sieroty (D); Vice Chairman O'Keefe (R); Carpenter (D); Davis (R); Dills (D); Garamendi (D); Nielsen (R); Richardson (R); Speraw (R); Stiern (D); Watson (D).
Consultant, James Browne, 445-2522.

Elections and Reapportionment (6D, 5R):
Chairman Boatwright (D); Vice Chairman Craven (R); Campbell (R); Ellis (R); Garamendi (D); Greene (D); Keene (D); Maddy (R); Montoya (D); Mills (D); Rains (D); Roberti (D); Schmitz (R).
Consultant, Melanie Adams-Darling, 445-2601.

Energy and Public Utilities (5D, 4R):
Chairman Montoya (D); Vice Chairman M. Garcia (R); Alquist (D); Dills (D); Foran (D); Mills (D); O'Keefe (R); Richardson (R); Russell (R).
Consultant, Tim Davis, 445-9765.

Finance (10D, 4R):
Chairman Alquist (D); Boatwright (D); Campbell (R); Dills (D); Garamendi (D); M. Garcia (R); Greene (D); Holmdahl (D); Maddy (R); Nielsen (R); Petris (D); Presley (D); Sieroty (D); Stiern (D).
Consultant, Jack Watson, 445-5202.

Governmental Organization (6D, 4R):
Chairman Dills (D); Vice Chairman Campbell (R); Alquist (D); Beverly (R); Carpenter (D); Ellis (R); M. Garcia (R); Greene (D); Foran (D); Keene (D).
Consultant, Lindsay W. Miller, 445-1193.

Health and Welfare (5D, 4R):
Chairwoman Watson (D); Vice Chairman Maddy (R); Campbell (R); Carpenter (D); Garamendi (D); A. Garcia (D); Marks (R); Mello (D); O'Keefe (R).
Consultant, Jim Lott, 445-5965.

Senate committee schedule

Monday	Room	
Finance	4203	2:00 p.m.
Insurance and Indemnity*	112	2:00 p.m.
Public Employment and Retirement*	2040	2:00 p.m.
Business and Professions**	3191	2:00 p.m.
Tuesday		
Governmental Organization	112	9:30 a.m.
Agriculture and Water Resources*	3191	9:30 a.m.
Natural Resources and Wildlife**	3191	9:30 a.m.
Judiciary	4203	1:30 p.m.
Transportation*	2040	1:30 p.m.
Energy and Public Utilities**	2040	1:30 p.m.
Wednesday		
Education	4203	9:30 a.m.
Local Government	112	9:30 a.m.
Elections and Reapportionment*	3191	9:30 a.m.
Industrial Relations**	2040	9:30 a.m.
Health and Welfare	4203	1:30 p.m.
Rules	113	1:30 p.m.
Revenue and Taxation*	2040	1:30 p.m.
Banking and Commerce**	3191	1:30 p.m.
Thursday		
Constitutional Amendments*	2040	8:30 a.m.

Committees meet every week unless indicated otherwise.
*Meets 1st and 3rd weeks of month.
**Meets 2nd and 4th weeks of month.

Industrial Relations (4D, 3R):
Chairman Greene (D); Boatwright (D); A. Garcia (D); Johnson (R); Montoya (D); Russell (R); Schmitz (R).
Consultant, Casey Young, 445-1237.

Insurance and Indemnity (3D, 2R)
Chairman Robbins (D); Vice Chairman Keene (D); Davis (R); O'Keefe (R); Roberti (D).
Consultant, Timothy J. Shannon, 445-0825.

Judiciary (5D, 4R):
Chairman Rains (D); Vice Chairman Davis (R); Beverly (R); Doolittle (R); Marks (R); Petris (D); Presley (D); Roberti (D); Sieroty (D).
Consultant, Richard Thomson, 445-5957.

Local Government (4D, 3R):
Chairman Marks (R); Vice Chairman Doolittle (R); Ayala (D); Craven (R); Mello (D); Robbins (D); Vuich (D).
Consultant, Peter Detwiler, 445-9748.

Natural Resources and Wildlife (6D, 5R)
Chairman Presley (D); Vice Chairman Richardson (R); Boatwright (D); Doolittle (R); Garamendi (D); Johnson (R); Marks (R); Mello (D); Nielsen (R); Sieroty (D); Watson (D).
Consultant, Jeffrey D. Arthur, 445-5441.

Public Employment and Retirement (3D, 2R):
Chairman Russell (R); Vice Chairman Carpenter (D); Foran (D); Mills (D); Speraw (R).
Consultant, David B. Felderstein, 445-8958.

Revenue and Taxation (5D, 4R):
Chairman Beverly (R); Vice Chairman Speraw (R); Ayala (D); Boatwright (D); M. Garcia (R); Holmdahl (D); Montoya (D); Richardson (R); Sieroty (D).
Consultant, Vance Hansen, 445-3808.

Transportation (5D, 3R):
Chairman Foran (D); Vice Chairman Johnson (R); Ayala (D); Ellis (R); Holmdahl (D); Mills (D); Speraw (R); Vuich (D).
Consultant, M. Mehdi Morshed, 445-3182.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ASSEMBLY STANDING COMMITTEES

Aging (6D, 3R):
Chairman Felando (R); Vice Chairman Chacon (D); Agnos (D); Bates (D); Filante (R); Johnston (D); LaFollette (R); Thurman (D); N. Waters (D).
Consultant, Tom Porter, 445-8688.

Agriculture (7D, 4R):
Chairman Thurman (D); Vice Chairman Herger (R); Campbell (D); Costa (D); Cramer (D); Duffy (R); Hallett (R); Johnston (D); Kelley (R); Martinez (D); N. Waters (D).
Consultants, Mike Falasco, Marsha Johnson, 445-1918.

Business and Professions (5D, 3R):
Chairman Filante (R); Vice Chairman Bane (D); Berman (D); Farr (D); Greene (D); Hughes (D); D. Stirling (R); L. Stirling (R).
Consultant, John Kroeger, 445-3037.

Constitutional Amendments (4D, 3R):
Chairman Wyman (R); Vice Chairman Farr (D); Brown (R); Hart (D); Robinson (D); Vasconcellos (D); Wright (R).
Consultant, John Cotter, 323-6122.

Consumer Protection and Toxic Materials (5D, 3R):
Chairwoman Tanner (D); Vice Chairman Sebastiani (R); Chacon (D); Elder (D); Katz (D); Konnyu (R); Sher (D); Wright (R).
Consultants, Martha Valdes, Jay De Furia, 445-0991.

Criminal Justice (9D, 5R):
Chairman Goggin (D); Vice Chairwoman Wright (R); Baker (R); Bates (D); Cramer (D); Floyd (D); Harris (D); Herger (R); LaFollette (R); Levine (D); McAlister (D); Martinez (D); Moore (D); D. Stirling (R).
Consultant, Michael Ullman, 445-3268.

Economic Development and Planning (5D, 3R):
Chairman Rogers (R); Vice Chairman Katz (D); Cortese (D); Ingalls (D); Lehman (D); Statham (R); Torres (D); Wright (R).
Consultant, Bob Ham, 445-0424.

Education (8D, 5R):
Chairman Greene (D); Vice Chairwoman Bergeson (R); Campbell (D); Farr (D); Hart (D); Hughes (D); Johnston (D); Leonard (R); Marguth (R); Naylor (R); Sebastiani (R); Tanner (D); Vasconcellos (D).
Consultant, Paul Holmes, 445-9431.

Elections and Reapportionment (9D, 6R):
Chairman Alatorre (D); Vice Chairman Naylor (R); Agnos (D); Berman (D); Brown (R); Campbell (D); Goggin (D); Hallett (R); Johnson (R); Lehman (D); Levine (D); Mountjoy (R); Roos (D); Statham (R); M. Waters (D).
Consultant, Jim Tucker, 445-8430.

Energy and Natural Resources (8D, 5R):
Chairman Hannigan (D); Vice Chairman Baker (R); Bates (D); Bosco (D); Farr (D); Frazee (R); Goggin (D); Herger (R); Kapiloff (D); Levine (D); Marguth (R); Rogers (R); Sher (D).
Consultant, Tom Willoughby, 445-9367.

Finance and Insurance (12D, 7R):
Chairman McAlister (D); Vice Chairman Johnson (R); Bane (D); Bosco (D); Deddeh (D); Greene (D); Imbrecht (R); Ivers (R); Lancaster (R); Lewis (R); McCarthy (D); Nolan (R); Papan (D); Robinson (D); L. Stirling (R); Torres (D); Tucker (D); Vicencia (D); Young (D).
Consultants, William George, Charlene Mathias, Sal Bianco, 445-9160.

Governmental Organization (9D, 5R):
Chairman Vicencia (D); Vice Chairman Statham (R); Bane (D); Brown (R); Cortese (D); Costa (D); Deddeh (D); Felando (R); Frizzelle (R); Mountjoy (R); Roos (D); Rosenthal (D); Tanner (D); Wray (D).
Consultant, Parke Terry, 445-3451.

Health (9D, 5R):
Chairman Torres (D); Vice Chairman Ivers (R); Bates (D); Elder (D); Felando (R); Filante (R); Hughes (D); Johnston (D); Lewis (R); Moorhead (D); Nolan (R); Rosenthal (D); Tucker (D); Young (D).
Consultant, Paul Press, 445-1770.

Assembly committee schedule

Monday	Room	
Criminal justice	4202	1:30 p.m.
Elections and reapportionment	437	1:30 p.m.
Health	444	1:30 p.m.
Rules	127	3:00 p.m.
Utilities and energy*	127	4:00 p.m.
Aging**	126	4:00 p.m.
Tuesday		
Education	4202	9:00 a.m.
Transportation	437	9:00 a.m.
Local government*	127	9:00 a.m.
Human services**	127	9:00 a.m.
Finance, insurance and commerce	4202	1:30 p.m.
Energy and natural resources	437	1:30 p.m.
Constitutional amendments*	447	1:30 p.m.
Consumer protection and toxic materials**	447	1:30 p.m.
Economic development and planning*	126	3:30 p.m.
Labor and employment**	126	4:00 p.m.
Business and professions**	444	4:00 p.m.
Wednesday		
Ways and means	4202	8:00 a.m.
Water, parks and wildlife*	126	9:00 a.m.
Housing and community development**	126	9:00 a.m.
Governmental organization*	437	9:00 a.m.
Judiciary	126	1:30 p.m.
Agriculture*	437	1:30 p.m.
Public employees and retirement**	437	1:30 p.m.
Revenue and taxation	444	1:30 p.m.
Rules	6028	3:00 p.m.

Committees meet every week except as noted.
*Meets first and third weeks of month.
**Meets second and fourth weeks of month.

Other key legislative officials

Auditor General
Thomas Hayes, 660 J St., Suite 300, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-0255.

Legislative Analyst
William G. Hamm, 925 L St., Suite 650, Sacramento 95814; (916) 445-4656.

Legislative Counsel
Bion Gregory, 3021 State Capitol; (916) 445-2781; 107 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90012; (213) 620-2550.

USEFUL CAPITOL NUMBERS (Area Code 916)

Information	322-9900
Secretary of Senate	445-4251
Chief Clerk of Assembly	445-3614
Bill Room	445-2323
Senate Research	445-1727
Assembly Research	445-1638
Archives	445-4293
Auditor General	445-0255
Legislative Analyst	445-4656
Legislative Counsel	445-2781
State Police	445-1150

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Housing and Community Development (6D, 3R):
Chairman Costa (D); Vice Chairman Filante (R); Bates (D); Hughes (D); Katz (D); Konnyu (R) Roos (D); Ryan (R); Young (D).
Consultant, Renée Franken, 445-2320.

Human Services (5D, 3R):
Chairman Lockyer (D); Vice Chairman Konnyu (R) Costa (D); Hannigan (D); Martinez (D); Moore (D); Ryan (R); D. Stirling (R).
Consultant, Greg Schmidt, 445-0664.

Judiciary (9D, 5R):
Chairman Harris (D); Vice Chairman Imbrecht (R); Berman (D); Hart (D); Ingalls (D); Leonard (R); McAlister (D); Moorhead (D); Robinson (D); D. Stirling (R); L. Stirling (R); Torres (D); M. Waters (D); Wyman (R)
Consultant, Rubin Lopez, 445-4560.

Labor and Employment (7D, 4R):
Chairman Wray (D); Vice Chairman Frizzelle (R); Alatorre (D); Bergeson (R); Floyd (D); Harris (D); Kelley (R); McAlister (D); Rosenthal (D); Ryan (R); Tanner (D).
Consultant, Steve Holloway, 445-2657.

Local Government (5D, 3R):
Chairman Frazee (R); Vice Chairman Cortese (D) Cramer (D); Herger (R); Martinez (D); Thurman (D); Tucker (D); Wright (R).
Consultant, Julie Nauman, 445-6034.

Public Employees and Retirement (5D, 3R):
Chairman Tucker (D); Vice Chairman L. Stirling (R); Bergeson (R); Chacon (D); Elder (D); Lewis (R); Lockyer (D); Moore (D).
Consultant, Dave Cox, 322-4320.

Revenue and Taxation (10D, 6R):
Chairman Deddeh (D); Vice Chairman Lewis (R); Brown (R); Cortese (D); Elder (D); Floyd (D); Hannigan (D); Kapiloff (D); Kelley (R); Konnyu (R); LaFollette (R); Lockyer (D) McCarthy (D); Moore (D); Naylor (R); Sher (D).
Consultant, Dave Doerr, 322-3730.

Types of Legislation

- **Bills** propose changes in or additions to state law. Depending upon the house of origin, they are referred to as Assembly Bills or Senate Bills, followed by a number (for example, AB 13, SB 152).
- **Constitutional Amendments,** also called "bills," actually are resolutions proposing constitutional changes to the electorate. They require a two-thirds majority in each house to qualify for the ballot. They are referred to as SCAs or ACAs.
- **Concurrent Resolutions** are used to adopt joint rules, create joint legislative committees, express legislative intent, and commend individuals for public service. They are referred to as ACRs or SCRs.
- **Joint Resolutions** express legislative opinion on matters pertaining to the federal government, and usually urge passage or defeat of legislation pending before Congress. They are referred to as SJRs or AJRs.
- **House and Senate Resolutions** express the sentiment of one house of the Legislature. They usually ask a committee to study a specific problem, create interim committees, or amend house rules. Their texts are published in the house *Journal*, and they take effect on their adoption.

Rules (5D, 4R):
Chairman Papan (D); Vice Chairman Lancaster (R); Agnos (D); Kapiloff (D); Mountjoy (R); Nolan (R); Rosenthal (D); Statham (R); M. Waters (D).
Chief administrative officer, Richard Ross, 445-8173.

Transportation (8D, 5R):
Chairman Young (D); Vice Chairwoman LaFollette (R); Deddeh (D); Frizzelle (R); Harris (D); Ingalls (D); Lancaster (R); Moore (D); Mountjoy (R); Papan (D); Vicencia (D); Wray (D); Wyman (R).
Consultant, Carl Schiermeyer, 445-7278.

Utilities and Energy (9D, 4R):
Chairman Duffy (R); Vice Chairman Sher (D); Alatorre (D); Bane (D); Bosco (D); Frazee (R); Leonard (R); Levine (D); Moore (D); Moorhead (D); Roos (D); Ryan (R); Vicencia (D).
Consultant, Richard K. Mason, 445-4246.

Water, Parks and Wildlife (6D, 3R):
Chairman N. Waters (D); Vice Chairman Kelley (R); Campbell (D); Cramer (D); Floyd (D); Katz (D); Lehman (D); Rogers (R); L. Stirling (R).
Consultant, Clyde Macdonald, 445-6164.

Ways and Means (14D, 9R):
Chairman Vasconcellos (D); Vice Chairman Imbrecht (R); Agnos (D); Baker (R); Berman (D); Bosco (D); Chacon (D); Duffy (R); Frizzelle (R); Goggin (D); Hart (D); Ivers (R); Johnson (R); Kapiloff (D); Lehman (D); Leonard (R); Levine (D); Lockyer (D); McCarthy (D); Marguth (R); Robinson (D); M. Waters (D); Wyman (R).
Consultant, Krist Lane 445-7082.

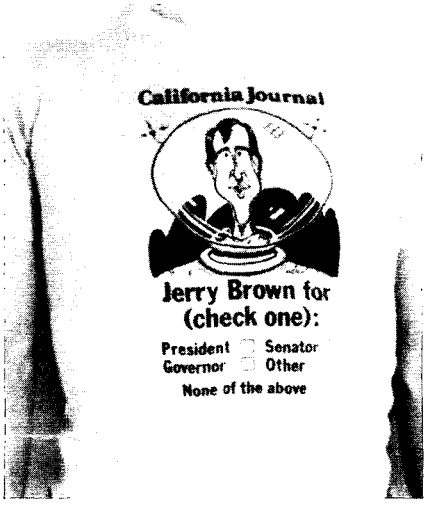
Get your politics on your chest with *California Journal* T-shirts

Whether you are a Democrat or a Republican . . . whether you love or hate Jerry Brown and Ronald Reagan . . . we have just the T-shirt for you.

Our Jerry Brown T-shirt is beige and comes with an iron-on check-mark. The Ronald Reagan T-shirt is flaming orange (and does not come with a football). The printing on both shirts is black.

Shirts are available for $7.95 each (including tax and postage) for prepaid or credit-card orders. Choice of sizes: Men's small, medium, large and extra large.

Send orders to the California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KEEPING TRACK OF LEGISLATION

Keeping track of the thousands of bills that are introduced in the Senate and Assembly every year is a difficult job, even for well-staffed professional lobbies. To do so, they rely heavily on six official legislative guides that are published daily during the session: the Assembly and Senate *Daily Files, Journals,* and *Histories.* Single copies of these publications are available free (as are single copies of bills) from the Legislative Bill Room. Also available there, at nominal cost, is a useful and concise reference, *California's Legislature,* by James D. Driscoll, Chief Clerk of the Assembly, from which the following descriptions of the legislative publications are drawn:

Daily Files. The *Daily File* for each house is an agenda of the day's business. It lists all measures to be taken up on the floor in the order in which they are to be dealt with, and it also lists all committee hearings and the bills scheduled for hearing before each committee. Under the provisions of the Assembly rules, notice of bills set for hearing by any committee or subcommittee must be published in the *Daily File* for three consecutive days prior to the hearing, unless there is a special waiver. The Senate rules now also require the calendar for regular committee meetings to be printed in the *Daily File* and at least two days in advance of the meeting. In addition, the *Daily File* provides an up-to-date list of the membership of all standing committees of each house.

The Daily Journals. The *Daily Journal* of each house contains a "true and correct" account of that chamber's proceedings of the preceding day. This includes the titles of all measures introduced, considered or acted upon by each house, the texts of amendments to these measures and of house resolutions, roll calls, messages from the governor and the other house, committee reports, motions, and acknowledgement of any communications. Senate committee votes are recorded and published in the Senate *Journal,* but the Assembly reports its committee votes in a separate appendix to the Assembly *Journal*.

The History. Each chamber's *History* shows the action taken on all measures on the file for action that day (except for measures passed on file) and all committee actions on bills. A *Weekly History,* published at the end of the week, summarizes the daily accounts and contains the titles of all measures introduced up to the end of that week, and the committees to which they were assigned, along with any action taken on them and the date on which it was taken. The *Weekly History* also carries the names of each house's membership, committee assignments and the schedule of meetings.

Legislative Index. At intervals during the session, a *Legislative Index* is published, listing by subject all bills introduced in the Legislature. It also contains a table showing which sections of the Constitution and statutes are affected by the measures introduced.

Other publications

Once the Legislature adjourns, the *Daily Journals* are corrected, reprinted, and deposited with the secretary of state as a permanent record of each day's proceedings. Each house also publishes a *Final History,* summarizing all legislation introduced and acted upon during the session. This history is indexed and shows which sections of law are affected by the legislation enacted, and whether the changes involved deletions, additions, removals, or renumbering.

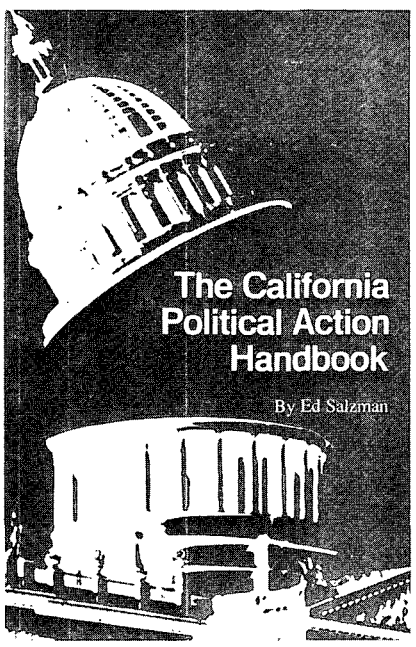
How to win the Sacramento political game . . .

The California Political Action Handbook

How can an organization or an individual send a message with maximum impact to the decision makers in Sacramento? What tactics should be used to get legislators to vote one way or the other on a specific bill? How can the state bureaucracy be penetrated? How can elections be won in California?

These are among the questions that are answered in this concise, 32-page paperback book now available from the California Journal Press. **The California Political Action Handbook** was written by *California Journal* editor Ed Salzman in response to many requests for a handy guide that pulls no punches in describing how the political game in Sacramento is really played.

This handbook describes how the Legislature operates, what should be done to influence lawmakers, how lobbyists function, how citizens can help their advocates apply optimum pressure at the optimum time, what can be done when an emergency arises, and the do's and don'ts of dealing with public officials. It also contains chapters on the executive branch of government, winning elections and keeping informed.



Organizations will want to buy large quantities of these handbooks to distribute to their members. Anyone conducting seminars on state government should use these guides as a basic resource. Legislative advocates should distribute them to their clients. And individuals with an interest in government will want copies for easy reference.

Prices: Single copy, $2.65, including tax; 2 - 5 copies, $1.95 each plus tax; 6 - 24 copies, $1.50 each plus tax; 25 or more copies, 95 cents each plus tax.

Send all orders for **The California Political Action Handbook** to the California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California's Legislative Process

Initial steps by author

IDEA
Sources of bills: legislators, legislative committees, governor, state and local governmental agencies, business firms, lobbyists, citizens.

DRAFTING
Formal copy of bill and "layman's digest" prepared by Legislative Counsel.

INTRODUCTION
Bill submitted by senator or Assembly member. Numbered and read for first time. Assigned to committee by Assembly or Senate Rules Committee. Printed.

Action in house of origin

COMMITTEE
Testimony taken from author, proponents and opponents. Typical actions: Do pass; amend and do pass; no action; hold in committee (kill); amend and re-refer to same committee; refer to another committee; send to interim study.

Appropriation bills, if approved by policy committee, are referred to Finance Committee in the Senate and to Ways and Means Committee in the Assembly.

SECOND READING
Bills given do-pass recommendations are read a second time and placed on file for debate.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE
Bills are read a third time and debated. A roll-call vote follows. For ordinary bills, 21 votes are needed in the Senate and 41 in the Assembly. For urgency bills and appropriation measures, 27 and 54 votes are required. If these numbers are not reached, the bill is defeated. Any member may seek reconsideration and a second vote. If passed or passed with amendments, the bill is sent to the second house.

Disposition in second house

READING
Bill is read for the first time and referred to committee by the Assembly or Senate Rules Committee.

COMMITTEE
Procedures and possible actions are identical to those in the first house.

SECOND READING
If cleared by committee, the bill is read a second time and placed on the daily file (agenda) for debate and vote.

FLOOR DEBATE AND VOTE
The procedure is identical to the first house. If a bill is passed without having been amended in the second house, it is sent to the governor's desk. (Resolutions are sent to the secretary of state's office.) If amended in the second house and passed, the measure returns to the house of origin for consideration of amendments.

Resolution of two-house differences (if necessary)

CONCURRENCE
The house of origin decides whether to accept the second-house amendments. If the amendments are approved, the bill is sent to the governor. If the amendments are rejected, the bill is placed in the hands of a two-house conference committee composed of three senators and three Assembly members.

CONFERENCE
If the conferees fail to present a report, the bill dies. If the conferees present a recommendation for compromise, both houses vote on the report. If the report is adopted by both, the bill goes to the governor. If either house rejects the report, a second (and even a third) conference committee can be formed.

Role of the governor

SIGN OR VETO?
Within 12 days after receiving a bill, the governor can sign it into law, allow it to become law without his signature or veto it. A vetoed bill returns to the house of origin for possible vote on overriding the veto. It requires a two-thirds majority of both houses to override.

Urgency measures become effective immediately after signing. Others usually take effect the following January 1st.

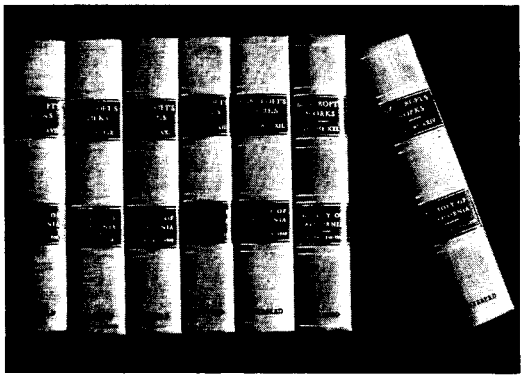
Copyright © 1982
by The California Center

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

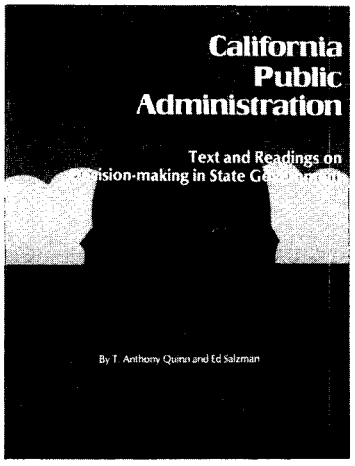
THE CALIFORNIA JOURNAL BOOKSTORE

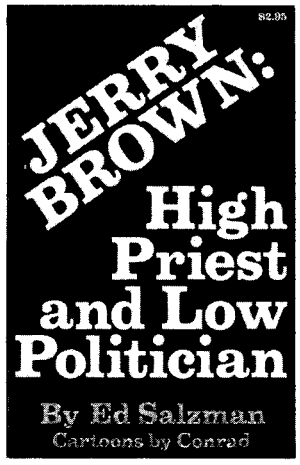
Informative and entertaining books about California politics and history are always available from the California Journal Press, often at discount prices. The current selection:

History of California, the monumental seven-volume bible of California history by Hubert Howe Bancroft. These handsome hardback books, each about 800 pages, cover the development of California from 1542 to 1890. Historian Allan Nevins described the Bancroft set as "a fundamental work . . . an undertaking of great magnitude . . . so full of human interest, vivid adventure and striking pictures of society that they can be called fascinating." These books are indispensable to anyone researching California history through the 19th Century. California Journal Press can offer a limited number of these books at the bargain price of $85 per set — including sales tax, postage and handling.



The Atlas of California, a handsome, four-color hardback book containing 191 oversized (12" x 14") pages of colorful and fascinating information on the nation's largest and most diverse state. This definitive **Atlas** provides graphic information on population distribution, California history, business, voting, legislative districts, natural resources, flora and fauna, national origin, sports, federal spending and much, much more. We have made a special purchase and can pass our savings on to you in a discount of more than 20 percent from the publisher's list price of $47.50. The California Journal Press price is $37.50 (plus tax, for a total of $39.75).

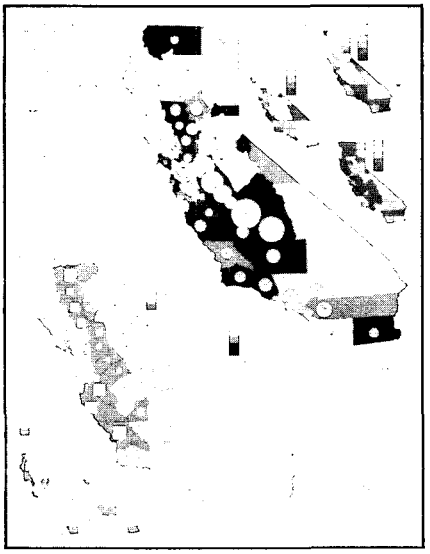




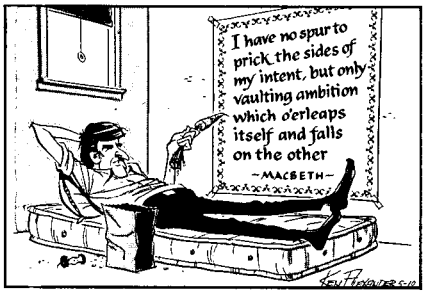
Jerry Brown: High Priest and Low Politician, by Ed Salzman, 1977, with cartoons and photos. Price: **$4.19.**

Reporting: An Inside View, by Lou Cannon, a 320-page book by the **Journal's** former Washington columnist. A thoughtful analysis of contemporary problems in the press. Hardback, **$10.55;** softbound, **$6.31.**

California Environment and Energy, by Ed Salzman, text and materials on contemporary issues. This is the first book ever published exclusively on California environmental problems, and emphasis is placed on the political conflict between ecological and economic forces. Price: **$5.25.**



The Cartoon History of California Politics, by Ed Salzman and Ann Leigh Brown, a 156-page book containing more than 100 drawings illustrating California's fascinating political history. Price: **$5.25.**



California Government and Politics Annual, 12th edition, edited by Thomas R. Hoeber, Ed Salzman and Charles M. Price, a 128-page large-format book containing a "Practical Guide to California Government and Politics" and reprints of **Journal** articles. Price: **$4.77.**

California Public Administration, by T. Anthony Quinn and Ed Salzman, a look at the inner workings of California government with emphasis on how decisions are made in all segments of state government. Price **$5.25.**

Use the handy insert card to place orders. Or just write your own order and send it with payment (Visa and MasterCard numbers accepted) to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814. (All prices include tax.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The son-of-Pat budget balancing act

By ED SALZMAN

Jerry Brown is the son of Pat after all. The true Brown family color appeared at the start of the 1982 legislative session, when the governor presented a State-of-the-State message that might have been delivered by his father (or by Ronald Reagan). The speech was divided into two sections — the first half inspirational and the second half a call to technological arms against the Japanese in the economic war over control of the information industry. Then came the final Jerry Brown budget, vintage about 1964, loaded with the kind of gimmicks Pat Brown used to employ to prevent tax increases.

Pat Brown once changed the state's method of accounting to make the books balance for one fiscal year. He was a master at accelerating the collection of taxes held by business to improve the state's cash flow. One year, he even considered delaying the payment of state employees from June 30th to July 1st to put roughly one-12th of one year's payroll into the new fiscal year. (Cooler heads prevailed on that one.)

If Jerry Brown were retiring from politics this year, he probably would have called for a tax increase. But he is running for the United States Senate and has always viewed the advocacy of tax boosts as the death blow to a politician. So Brown has come up with a gambling-man's solution to a fiscal crisis: Go to a bookmaker with your last $2 and bet on a five-horse parlay.

Here are the horses the River City gambler has selected:

- **Defeat of** the inheritance tax and income-tax initiatives on the June ballot, plus approval of the $495 million prison-construction bond issue.
- **Success by** President Reagan in turning the economy around in the second quarter of this year.
- **Passage by** the Legislature of bills that will balance the current year's budget.
- **Enactment by** the Legislature of an omnibus bill placing a variety of revenue-producing gimmicks into effect.
- **Restraint by** the Legislature and by pressure groups on the spending side of the ledger — something Brown was unable to accomplish a year ago.

If any one of those five horses is defeated, Brown will probably be forced to make deeper cuts in the budget or to propose some general tax increase. Brown has the calendar working for him. The June primary will take place before the budget will get to the crucial stage. And no one will know whether his fiscal program for 1982-83 has worked until after he wins or loses the November Senate election. It is entirely possible that the Brown plan will work for one year but will leave the prospect of a large deficit for 1983-84. That will be the problem of the new governor, however.

In the 'trough'

Jerry Brown denies that his policy of accelerations and gimmicks will cause his successor great travail. (Remember how Reagan was able to blame Pat Brown for all the state's fiscal problems 15 years ago?) The governor has this explanation: The state economy is now at a low point of "trough." This is no time to raise taxes, he argues, because that would produce far too much revenue when the economy rebounds — as did the taxation measures of the Reagan Administration. In his view, revenues will match expenditures in future years as economic conditions improve.

There is one basic flaw in that historical argument. In the Reagan years, the income and property taxes had great flexibility and rebound potential. Now, after indexing of the income tax and Proposition 13, only the sales tax (among the major source of income) would be subject to the kind of upward mobility Brown is forecasting. Nevertheless, Brown has produced statistics to show that his "trough" theory will work — if all the horses in the parlay are winners. Here is an outline of how the son-of-Pat budget is constructed:

Even before building the $27 billion budget for next year, Brown had to find ways of eliminating a projected deficit in the current spending program. His new budget is based on the assumption that the Legislature would pass two bills accelerating the collection of taxes and that cutbacks in departmental spending and construction projects would eliminate the red ink. If all goes according to plan (and it never does), the state would end the current year on June 30th with only $100 million left in the larder.

General-fund revenues in the 1982-83 fiscal year are projected at $22.5 billion. But simply maintaining the current level of service with an inflation factor of 8 percent would push expenditures to $24.6 billion for a deficit of $2.1 billion. The $100 million surplus would cut that to an even $2 billion. Brown is proposing cuts from the continuation-of-service projections of some $1.4 billion, plus revenue measures totaling $645 million.

A sharp rebound

Brown made the arbitrary decision to base his budget on the defeat of the inheritance tax and income-tax indexing initiatives. If those measures pass, the budget would lose some $325 million in income in 1982-83. Even more significantly, the losses would be $785 million and $1.1 billion in the following two years, delivering a death blow to the "trough" theory. Thus, the budget is based on the assumption that the full cost-of-living indexing of the income tax will end this year and that the state will hereafter be able to benefit from a 3 percent inflation factor each year.

The Legislature, it is assumed, will be more conservative this year than last and not be sympathetic to the appeals of those who spend tax dollars. The budget prevents some interest groups — notably those in the health field — from getting cost-of-living increases. It includes only $100 million for legislative augmentations and $168 million for state-employee benefits, the equivalent of about 4 percent of payroll. And the pay issue is subject to collective bargaining for the first time this year.

If all goes according to plan, the state would have a $500 million reserve for economic contingencies — the kind of kitty that was eradicated this year. State Finance Director Mary Ann Graves said that this reserve (equivalent to 2 percent of budget) is reasonably prudent, although she

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would feel more comfortable with 3 percent.

The economic forecast upon which the budget is built assumes that the current quarter of 1982 will be slightly better than the last three months of 1981 and that the state's economy will rebound sharply in the second and third quarters. The budget is based on a "middle road" in the range of economic predictions, and Graves declared: "I know with absolute certainty that it will be wrong. We were off 1½ percent last year, and that's considered on the nose."

Increases assumed for the 1982 calendar year: personal income, 10.3 percent; corporate profits, 10.8 percent; taxable sales, 9.6 percent; number employed, 1.1 percent; housing units authorized, 14.4 percent; auto sales, 4.8 percent; consumer price index, 11.3 percent. In general, these percentages are somewhat higher than for the current year and much lower than forecast for 1983. The unemployment rate is estimated at 8.1 percent this year and 7.1 percent in 1983. If the optimistic economists are right, the state's revenues will be $1.1 billion higher than the middle range. If the pessimists are right (as they seem to be for 1981-82), income will be some $800 million lower.

Brown's revenue program would produce $338 million to balance the old budget and $645 million for the new. It includes speedup of collections from business for the income, insurance, corporation and sales taxes. It would change the law on computation of taxes for oil companies and increase interest on deliquent taxes. In addition, the governor proposed four "reforms," two of which would produce about $50 million more for the current budget. Another would save the state a great deal of money in future years. The reforms:

- **Establishment of** a two-tier retirement system. In effect, new state employees would get lower pension benefits than those now on the payroll. This item is subject to collective bargaining. Over the long run, it would increase take-home pay and reduce state pension costs.
- **Provide local government** with new guarantees that the state will stop mandating operations on local government without paying the bill. In effect, Brown is saying the state will reimburse local government or he will veto the bills. This item has no price tag because there is no telling how it might be implemented.
- **Initiate a fee** system for utilities making applications for rate adjustments from the Public Utilities Commission. The state would save $24 million next year. Wouldn't that be tantamount to a tax because the utilities will pass the cost on to consumers? No, says Brown, it is "internalizing a full cost of service." (The governor said that he would not use the term "revenue enhancement" because that is a "euphemism.")
- **Require that fees** be used for the quasi-judicial operations of the Department of Industrial Relations. This would save $27 million for the general fund.

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of Brown's revenue program will be a proposed major change in the collection of property taxes. The governor wants to pick up $480 million by eliminating a delay factor in the application of higher assessments to parcels of property that change hands or that are newly constructed. In effect, the date of sale would replace the March 1st lien date for these parcels. And Brown is, in effect, forcing local officials to change the assessment rules by cutting some $450 million from their allocations from the state. This $450 million is the cornerstone of Brown's $1.4 billion budget-reduction package. He would also save $400 million by reducing cost-of-living adjustments now required by law, trim $115 million from state agencies, lop $170 million from Medi-Cal, reduce energy credits $25 million, and take $180 million that would go to schools and community colleges under present formulas.

The governor's local-government proposals are especially complex. He is proposing that $6.2 billion be distributed by the state in Proposition 13 bailout funds, an increase of $300 million over 1981-82. That total would have been $450 million higher but for the property-tax proposal. Cities would be hurt harder than any other element of local government by the package, but the budget estimates that municipalities will have 10 percent more revenue next year, even with the cutbacks. Here are some other key elements in the appropriations package:

Welfare. Beneficiaries would receive 8.8 percent increases, the cost-of-living boost required under present law. Brown said this is justified because the state's poor are being hit hard by the Reagan Administration and by some of his Medi-Cal plans.

Medi-Cal. Instead of giving health-care providers full cost-of-living increases, Brown limited the hike to a maximum of 5 percent with no boost for doctors. In addition, he indicated that dental benefits would be reduced and that there would be caseload reductions produced by changes in federal welfare rules involving food stamps. Doctors, dentists, nursing homes and hospitals are bound to seek relief from the Legislature. Brown said he felt that those in the health professions could afford to be cut back and still maintain a decent standard of living.

Public schools. Elementary and high schools would re-

Budget facts and figures

Total: $27 billion, up 4.8% from the current level of spending.

Taxes: Increased revenues from acceleration of tax collections, revision in property-tax procedures and other devices. No general tax rate increases.

Economic forecast: Return to a pattern of healthy growth in the second quarter of 1982.

Ballot-proposition assumptions: Defeat of inheritance tax and income tax-indexing initiatives, passage of prison bond issue in June.

Local-government Proposition 13 bailout: $6.2 billion, up $300 million.

Cost-of-living increases: 8.8% for welfare recipients, 6.9% for public schools, 5% for most other budget items subject to cost-of-living adjustments.

Where money goes: education, 44%; health and welfare, 30%; business, transportation and housing, 7%; property-tax relief, 5%.

Where money comes fron: sales tax, 34%; personal income tax, 30%; bank and corporation tax, 14%; transportation taxes, 10%.

Projected year-end surplus: $500 million for economic uncertainties.

State employees: 231,375, up 2,376 from the current year.

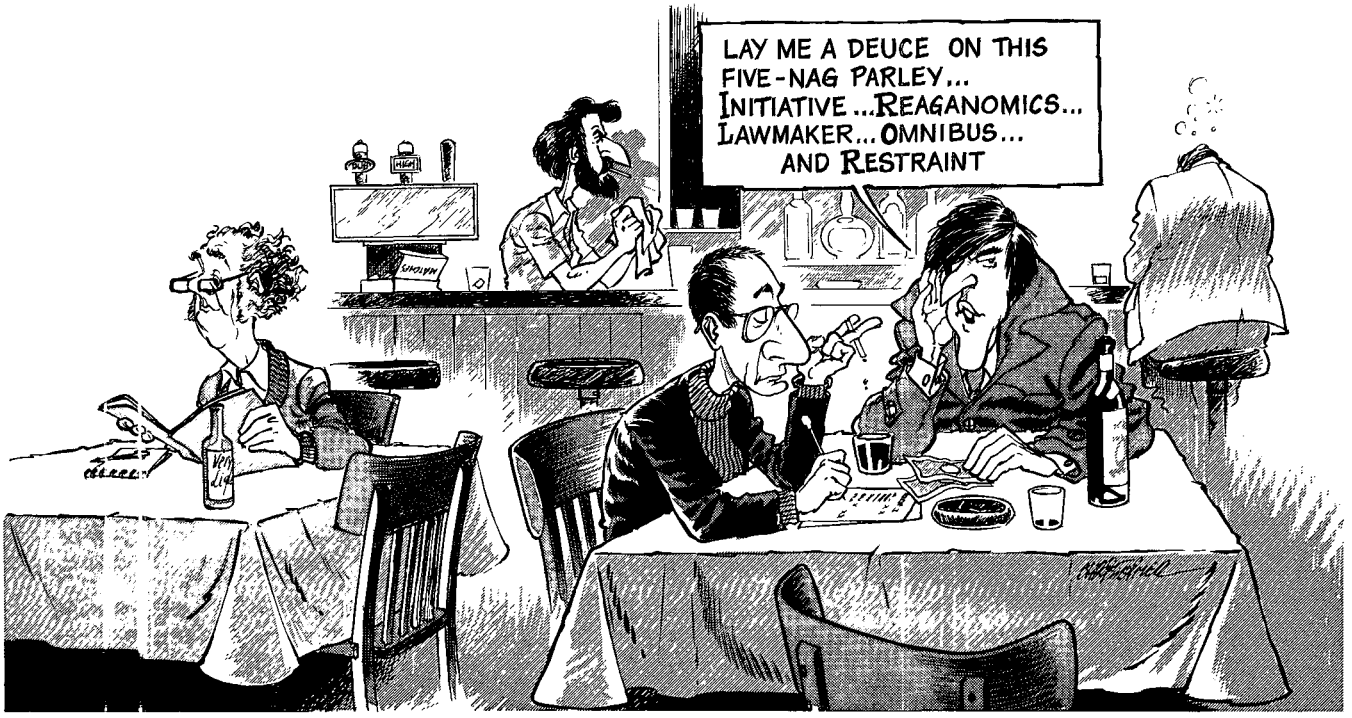
Pay raises: To be negotiated, with $168 million allocated for employee benefits.

Companion bill: An omnibus measure accelerating collection of some taxes and instituting a series of fiscal reforms.

Federal funds: $11.3 billion, up from $11.1 billion in the current year.

Outstanding bonded debt: $6.3 billion at the end of 1981, unchanged from the previous year.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ceive 6.9 percent increases for basic programs and the handicapped. Other programs would rise only 5 percent. In his state-of-the-state message, Brown talked at length about the need for educational programs to meet Japan's high-technology challenge, but he earmarked $50 million for a variety of programs. In terms of the overall budget, that is a pittance. Furthermore, the money doesn't make up for education funds taken elsewhere, and school officials say the teachers are not available to do what Brown wants.

Community colleges. The budget would be increased about 5 percent to $1.6 billion, and the colleges would remain free of fees.

State universities. The boost would be 2.4 percent, to about $1 billion. Brown indicated that fees would rise $55 a year to $260.

University of California. Aid would be increase 4.7 percent to about $1.2 billion. Brown proposed that fees be raised $100 to $1,125 a year.

Legislature. The legislative budget, subject to heavy criticism, would be pared about $5 million — mostly because the renovation of the state capitol has been completed.

Medfly. The budget assumes that the infestation will be eradicated in the current fiscal year and that no major outlay will be needed in 1982-83.

Prisons. Some 1,300 more prison cells would be built over the next two years if voters approve the bond issue in June.

Brown admitted to the press that there was one item in the budget that had not come to his attention — $13,000 for a portrait of the outgoing governor to be hung in the Capitol. Joked Brown: "No one told me about that. My father is very upset that his portrait is going to be hung over the men's room. I want to first establish where it is going to be hung."

Pat Brown probably wouldn't be upset in the slightest by the chip-off-the-old-block budget crafted by his son for 1982-83. As Jerry Brown himself declared: "I'm trying to be more respectful of tradition this year."

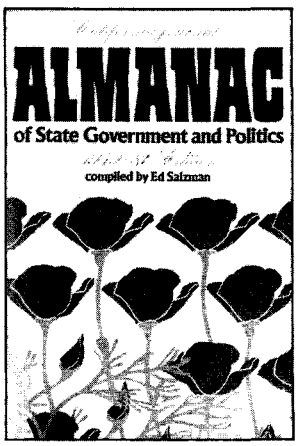
Special reference package:

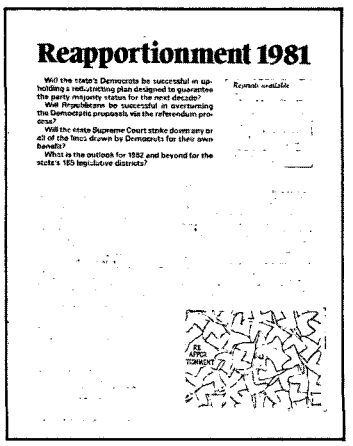
An almanac and two pamphlets for $5

For a limited time, the California Journal Press is offering three resource publications on California government and politics for $5. The package includes:

- **The 1979-80 California Journal Almanac of State Government and Politics,** 184 pages of basic reference material. (A new Almanac will not be published until early in 1983.)
- **Reapportionment 1981,** the new *California Journal* pamphlet on the reapportionment plans enacted by the Legislature this year, with nine maps and descriptions of all 165 districts.
- **The 1982 California Journal Roster and Government Guide,** the 16-page booklet with the names and numbers of all the important elected and appointed officials in Sacramento — and much, much more.

If bought separately, these three items would cost $6.94. You can save $1.94 by sending $5 to the California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Ave., Sacramento 95814. Ask for the $5 reference package.





LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wanted: jail cells for the state's drunk drivers

By LAURA FREMONT

Cari Lightner of Sacramento was 13 years old when she was hit and killed by a drunk driver. Unlike thousands of other parents who sustain such a loss, Cari's mother chose not to suffer in silence. She founded an organization called Mothers Against Drunk Drivers (MADD) and began badgering politicians for major changes in the state's drunk driving laws.

That was less than two years ago, but MADD has been surprisingly successful in California and has become well-known elsewhere in the country. The changes in California's drunk driving laws resulting from Lightner's personal crusade are intended to make plea bargaining harder, prosecution easier and penalties stiffer. (See box.) Yet an assessment of Lightner's whirlwind success must wait while society and the criminal justice system adjust to the laws her daughter's death spurred. The stiff new laws on drunk driving appear to be a victory for MADD. But will those laws succeed in keeping drunk drivers off the state's streets and highways?

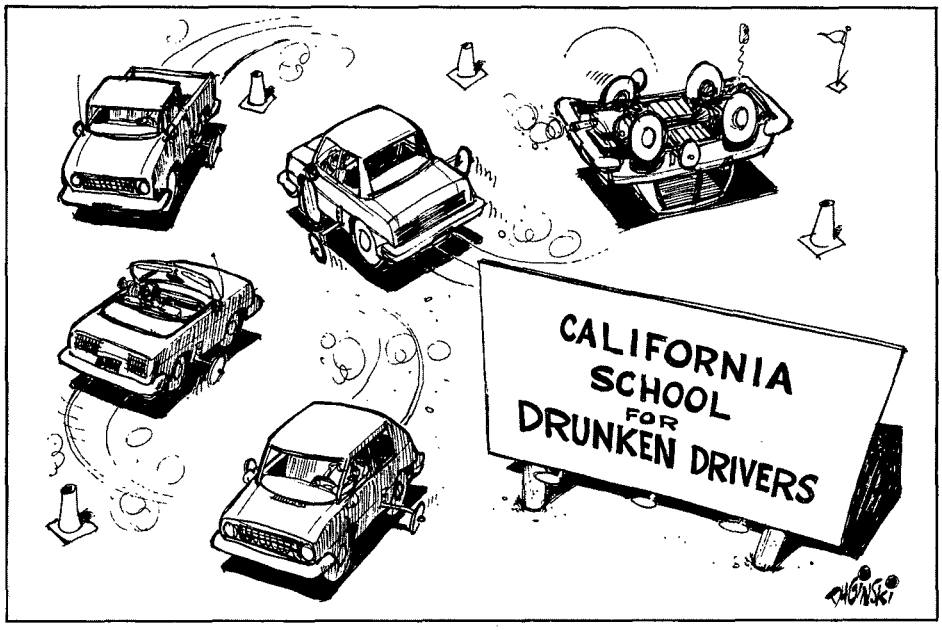
The new laws symbolize a new "throw-the-book-at-'em" attitude towards the state's growing ranks of drinking drivers. Under these laws, hailed as "the toughest in the nation," Candy Lightner says that the man who killed her daughter after two previous drunk driving convictions would probably have spent four years in jail. But he was sentenced under the old laws and was recently released after serving 16 months.

The new penalties — contained in Sacramento Democratic Assemblywoman Jean Moorhead's AB 541 — are not the only accomplishments of Lightner and others who since May 1980 have spent their energies lobbying legislators, dogging judges and educating the public about the state's drunk driving problem. Other new laws which increase enforcement and prosecutorial clout:

- **AB 7** by Assemblyman Gary Hart of Santa Barbara, which establishes a .10 blood alcohol content (BAC) as proof-positive of intoxication. (Under previous law, defendants could sometimes successfully claim they weren't intoxicated even with that BAC.)
- **AB 348** by Assemblyman Mel Levine of Los Angeles, which makes plea bargaining more difficult by requiring that previous drunk driving raps which have been pleaded down to reckless driving be treated as prior driving-under-the-influence (DUI) convictions for purposes of determining penalties.
- **AB 202** by Assemblyman Lou Papan of Millbrae, which will pay for 670 new California Highway Patrol officers through a $1 vehicle registration fee increase.

All of the laws are aimed at changing California's frightening road statistics: Alcohol-related accidents kill 2,500 people a year in California and injure another 75,000. Although 194,000 people were convicted of drunk driving in California in 1979, as few as one in 2,000 drinking drivers is ever caught, according to experts. Most drinking drivers elude the law 200 times before being apprehended.

Coupled with low apprehension rates is what Lightner calls the "leniency" of the state's courts, manifested in part by the wide use of plea bargaining. She points to the fact that, although there were only 5,000 arrests in 1980 for reckless driving, there were 80,000 convictions for the same offense. The 75,000 difference probably represents drunk drivers who were allowed to plead down to the lesser charge of reckless driving.



Authorities agree that stronger laws are only part of the solution. A change in public attitude toward drinking and driving is essential. Lightner says that means the "only socially acceptable form of homicide" — drunk driving — must be punished harshly to make drivers, and the judges and juries who try them, realize it really is a crime.

Proponents insist that the new laws will show the public that the state means business. Even before the January 1st effective date, the laws seemed to be having an effect. Lightner smiles about one result: "Women are calling and saying, 'Thanks a lot, lady — now I have to drive my husband to and from the bar.' " A longtime Capitol staffer says the word is spreading around the statehouse: "Don't drink and drive after January 1st."

But to make the new laws work, they must be enforced. Therein lie major difficulties. Some persons who must administer the new laws worry that they will cause as many

Laura Fremont is a reporter for Capitol News Service in Sacramento.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

problems as they solve. Foremost are the possibilities of a sharp increase in the populations of prisons and county jails and a heavier caseload for the state's already clogged courts.

Because of the heavier penalties involved, more drunk drivers than previously may take their cases to jury trial rather than plead guilty. That would further jam the crowded courts and require the hiring of more judges. Some observers fear that it will encourage more manipulation of the system through use of high-powered defense attorneys.

"The defense attorneys get up there and razzle-dazzle juries with a lot of technical bullshit," complains Lightner. "They don't try cases on the guilt or innocence of the defendant any more in our courts, but on the technicalities and loopholes in the law."

The potential upswing in the number of persons serving jail or prison time is even more alarming to law-enforcement agencies. Between 10 and 15 percent of the state's 29,000 county jail inmates are already sleeping on the floor, and preliminary estimates show the jails may have to absorb between 1,500 and 1,700 extra inmates in 1982 because of the new drunk driving laws. In terms of adding to the already severe overcrowding problem in the state's correctional institutions, the new laws "are icing on the cake," according to Board of Corrections Executive Officer Norma Phillips Lammers.

There seem to be only two ways out of what some officials call a "Catch-22" situation: The state's district attorneys and judges can try to avoid sending drunk drivers to jail, or new jail and prison space will have to be found.

The first possibility is a real fear of Candy Lightner's. "The new laws will work if they're enforced," she says. "But they might not be. The judges are looking for loopholes, and they've already found some."

Some judges have said they don't intend to give the first offender 48 hours in jail, favoring instead the 90-day license restriction which won't burden the jail system. While that's legitimate under the new laws, Lightner worries that some judges and district attorneys will try to get around the new laws, leading the public to cease fearing them. Thinking

'GETTING TOUGH'

Offense	Old minimum	New minimum under AB 541	Maximum under AB 541
Driving under influence (Misdemeanor, no prior)	48 hours jail; may be suspended.	48 hours jail or 90-day license suspension (with work exception), $375 fine and Drinking Driver School.	Six months jail, $500 fine, six-month license suspension, first offender treatment program.
Driving under influence (Misdemeanor, one prior)	48 hours jail; may be suspended only in unusual case where interests of justice demand exception and when one-year treatment program is completed.	10 days jail, $375 fine and one-year license suspension; or two days jail, and fine, and successful completion of one-year alcohol treatment program, and one-year license suspension (with exception for work and attending program).	One year jail, $1,000 fine, one-year suspension, one-year treatment program.
Driving under influence (Misdemeanor with prior DUI felony)	Five days in jail; may suspend only in unusual case and when person completes treatment program.	Same as above.	One year jail, $1,000 fine, one-year suspension, one-year treatment program.
Driving under influence (Misdemeanor with two priors)	Five days in jail; may suspend only in unusual case and when person completes treatment program.	120 days jail, $375 fine, and three-year license revocation.	One year jail, $1,000 fine, three-year revocation, one-year treatment program.
Driving under influence with injury (Felony)	90 days; may be suspended.	Five days jail, $375 fine, and one-year license suspension.	One year jail, $1,000 fine, one-year revocation.
Driving under influence (Felony with DUI misdemeanor prior)	Five days; may be suspended only in unusual case.	120 days jail, $375 fine, and three-year license revocation; or 30 days jail, $375 fine and successful completion of one-year alcohol treatment program, plus three-year license suspension (with exception for work and attending program).	One year jail, $1,000 fine, one-year suspension, first offender program.
Driving under influence (Felony with DUI felony prior)	90 days; may be suspended only in unusual case.	120 days jail, $375 fine and three-year license revocation; or 30 days jail, $375 fine and successful completion of one-year alcohol treatment program, plus three-year license suspension (with exception for work and attending program).	One year jail, $5,000 fine, one-year treatment, three-year revocation.
Driving under influence (Felony with two DUI priors)	90 days; may be suspended only in unusual case.	One year jail, $375 fine, five-year license revocation, and restitution to victim.	Four years jail, $5,000 fine, five-year revocation, one-year treatment.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

along the same lines, Moorhead is preparing other legislation to close some loopholes in the new laws.

Pressure on the courts to enforce the new laws will likely be strong, at least from the members of MADD. Even before passage of the new laws, judges in some jurisdictions had agreed to do more book-throwing than previously. While some judges are said to be "very resistant," that may not manifest itself in court. With MADD's court-watch program and the public's new awareness of drunk driving, the "resistant" judges may decide to cooperate in the name of self-preservation. And that may put an untenable strain on California's correctional institutions. Recent need-assessments show that $900 million is needed to bring the state's jails up to standard by 1986 — a figure arrived at before the drunk driving bills were enacted.

Building new facilities seems a logical solution, but that may not be realistic. The Legislature in 1980 rejected a quarter-cent sales tax increase which would have partially funded new institutions; only $40 million is in the current budget for that purpose. While the Legislature has approved a $495 million bond issue for building new state prisons (with another bond issue worth $280 million for jails soon to follow), the funds these bond issues would produce could fill only part of the construction needs. Also, the necessary voter approval of such stopgap measures is questionable.

Already 10 of the state's counties face court orders to depopulate their jails because of overcrowding. Jail officials may be forced, in the words of a Moorhead aide, to "just start letting people out." Indeed, use of the state's early-release statutes may be the only alternative left to jail and prison officials if the new laws are fully enforced and new facilities are not provided.

Taxing the tipplers

Moorhead and MADD have offered the Legislature an alternative to this scenario. Their answer is to "tax the tipplers" and use the money to fund the whole range of drunk driving and alcoholism services — from the salary of the cop on the beat to the cost of building needed jails and prisons. The proposed tax is a nickel-a-drink for the consumer out on the town, adding up to $200 million in annual revenue and posing a big headache for the liquor, bar and restaurant industries.

Moorhead's AB 1594, the "nickel-a-drink" bill, is based on the premise that drinkers should pay for the social costs of combining their drinking and driving. The measure would raise the state's current excise taxes on beer, wine and distilled spirits consumed in bars and restaurants and earmark the revenues for victim assistance, additional California Highway Patrol personnel, refunds to localities for state-mandated costs related to drunk driving control, rehabilitation and educational programs, and costs of prosecution and incarceration of drunk drivers.

As a percentage of personal income, California's alcohol taxes are currently 50 percent below the national average. Excise tax increases specified in AB 1594 — from 4 cents per gallon on beer to 50 cents, from 2 cents per gallon on wine and 30 cents per gallon on champagne to $1.47, and from $2 per gallon on distilled spirits to $3.36 — were chosen because they translate the tax into 5 cents per drink.

MADD and Moorhead were shot down quickly last month, losing the first Assembly committee test of a watered-down version of AB 1594 in a 2-7 vote. Moorhead blamed the liquor lobby for the bill's speedy defeat and said voters must try to pass an initiative if they want the tax. In an effort to pick up support, she had reduced the cost-per-drink to 1¾ cents by proposing to include liquor stores and markets in the tax. She also proposed giving the Legislature authority to decide how much money would go to various anti-drunk driver plans.

"I am disappointed in my colleagues who did not have the courage to fight the liquor lobby," Moorhead said after the vote in the Revenue and Taxation Committee. "Once again, we have to depend on the people to do something. If we are going to have the public make laws, we might as well close this place (the Capitol) down and go home."

A statewide organization called Provision for Law Enforcement and Alcoholism Service Equity (PLEASE) is circulating petitions to place a tipplers' tax on the November ballot. PLEASE's proposal would set a surcharge of 5 cents per pure ounce of alcohol to help raise funds for anti-drunk driver programs. That surcharge would be about 3 cents per drink. Proponents need 346,119 signatures of registered voters by May 6th to get the initiative on the ballot.

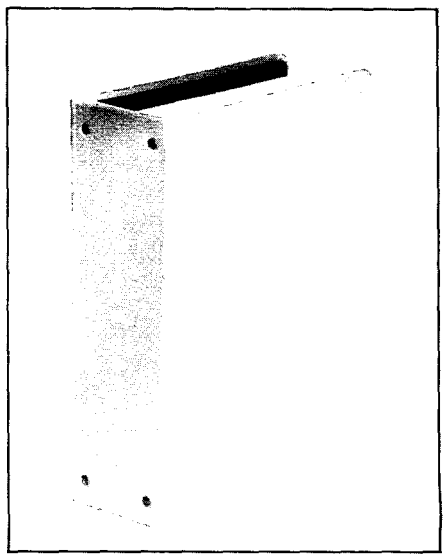
Meanwhile, MADD doesn't intend to let the Legislature off easily. "When we had hearings (on the new drunk-driving laws) before the Legislature, the biggest complaint was that there was no money (to back them up)," recalls Lightner. "We are the only ones who introduced a crime bill that had a monetary solution attached. We did all we could to solve the problems, and if the Legislature chooses not to pass the bill, it should take responsibility for the consequences."

The ideal way to store your Journals

Sturdy and attractive **Journal** binders are now available for immediate shipment. These binders are made from the finest quality buckram and are stamped with gold-foil letters. They are available for the years 1970 through 1981 and each binder contains enough space for a full year of magazines plus the annual index.

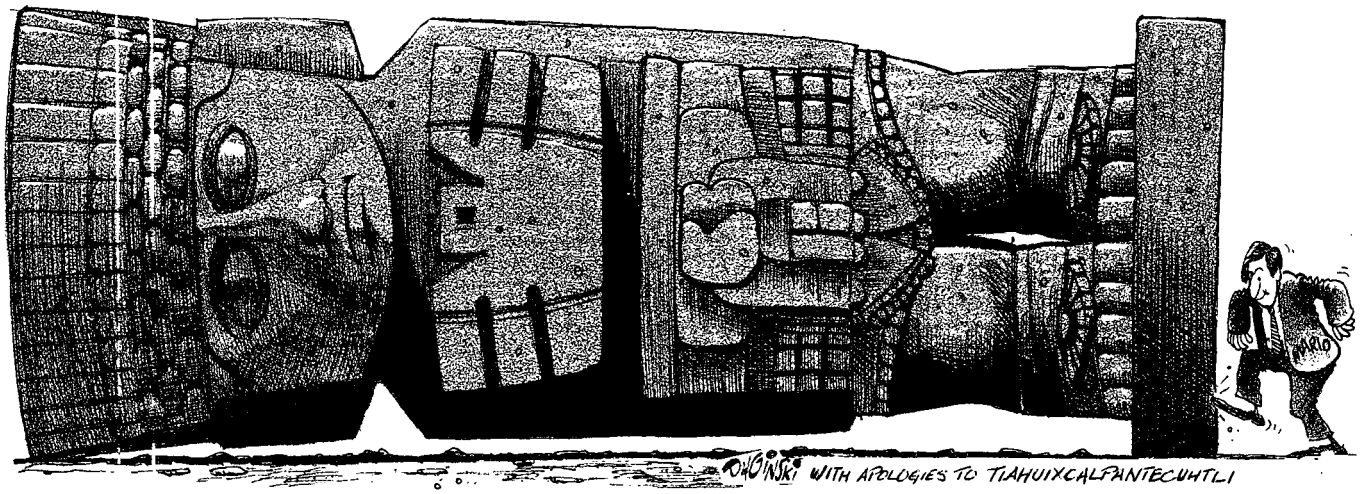
The price for each binder is **$7.95,** including sales tax. Shipping and handling are free only on prepaid, Visa and MasterCard orders. (Annual indexes are **$2.50** each.)

Send your binder orders to the **California Journal Press,** 1617 10th St., Sacramento, 95814.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The small-town clues to a stirring 'Sleeping Giant'



By ERIC BRAZIL and ROBERTO ROBLEDO

A stock figure in California politics is the so-called Sleeping Giant: the 4.5 million Spanish-surnamed persons whose aggregate political power is puny compared to their numbers.

Just wait, Latino leaders have been saying ever since Chicano activism penetrated the public consciousness in the mid-1960s. When the Giant wakes up, there'll be big changes, they have insisted.

Well, here it is 1982, and the big fellow is still snoring away — or is he? There are some blips on the screen, and they look suspiciously like evidence that, while the Giant is not up and rearranging the political furniture yet, he is stirring. The activity is not easy to detect because it has occurred chiefly in small-town elections, where some Chicano candidates have prevailed as the result of carefully planned campaigns.

Something's happening out there, and one man who's paying very careful attention is Health and Welfare Agency Secretary Mario G. Obledo, who has a dream that he can parlay wall-to-wall support from the Latino community into the governorship of California.

"We do a lot, and the Anglo community just doesn't know about it," Obledo says. "Since the media doesn't venture into our community, they don't know much about what's happening to one-quarter of our state. One of four Californians is Mexican-American, and if all the people in this one community that are eligible to vote would register and vote, well, you're almost home."

Consider last November's school board and special district elections in the Salinas Valley, where Spanish-surnamed elected officials are scarce even though the electorate is about 40 percent Latino. A Chicano coalition organized a task force around a familiar set of grievances: dismissal of aggressive Chicano administrators and teachers, indifference to their community's concerns about migrant and bilingual education, a school board's refusal to fill a vacancy with a Chicano trustee, the board of supervisors' rejection of a plan to create a district winnable by a Chicano.

The results: 3,000 new Spanish-surnamed voters registered; Chicano voter turnout doubled; a record vote in the 14 elections and seven victories in 28 races for coalition candidates.

"We may have lost some, but I don't hear any more of the old comment, 'Chicanos don't vote,' " says Jesse Sanchez, a young attorney who was one of the school board winners. In Sanchez's district, where Spanish-surnamed students form a majority even though the electorate is about 2-1 Anglo, the voter turnout was 39 percent Chicano, 23 percent Anglo.

"We're finding that the Chicano voter is a little more turned on in some ways than his non-Chicano neighbor," says Assembly Elections and Reapportionment Committee consultant Ricardo F. Nieto, an interested observer in Salinas on election night.

Rejecting predictions

The Salinas Valley campaign was run by a few dozen volunteers with a budget of about $10,000 and a great amount of postage-stamp licking and precinct walking. Their organizing principle was ethnicity, pure and simple: "We weren't promoting any organizations, only *carnalismo* (brotherhood)," admits organizer David Serena.

The coalition got crucial advice on the nuts and bolts of voter registration and turnout from the non-partisan Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project (SWVREP) of San Antonio, Texas, which has run more than 100 campaigns a year, mostly in Texas, since 1977. Down in Texas, SWVREP has a reputation for bringing home the bacon. When it gets involved in a campaign, politicians all the way up to Texas Governor Bill Clements pay attention.

None of this activity is lost on Obledo who, next to farmworker leader Cesar Chavez, is probably the state's best-known Latino. Obledo, 49, has headed the state's big-

Eric Brazil is Sacramento bureau chief for Gannett News Service, and Roberto Robledo is a reporter for the Salinas Californian.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gest bureaucracy (40,000 employees, $7 billion budget) for the past seven years, and he'd like to be California's first elected Spanish-surnamed governor since statehood. (Only one Latino has occupied the corner office since 1875. Lieutenant Governor Romualdo Pacheco spent a year on the job after Governor Newton Booth resigned to become a U.S. senator.) Obledo has seen the polls and heard all the arguments against making the race: that Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley has the nomination sewn up; that Obledo's constituents won't vote, and even if they do he will still lose; that he'll be a symbolic candidate at best; that the "brown scare" will do long-term damage to Latino interests.

Obledo rejects all of those predictions. "Primaries are won by the candidate who gets the most votes from a minority of a minority of citizens," he says.

Obledo has been prodded to make the gubernatorial race by Latino leaders throughout the state, including Frank and Lucy Casado, the Los Angeles restaurateurs who have been among Governor Jerry Brown's major cheerleaders and fund-raisers in the Latino community. "Mario is the only person I see who can really understand the issues facing this state," Lucy Casado says. "He's a beautiful person; he cares and he's tough."

Obledo embarked on an energetic series of appearances at "tribute" dinners in November. And the more he's been paid tribute to, the tougher he talks about the June primary. He claims that he has been assured of a $1 million war chest for the race. "I believe that the mere fact that a person of my background would run for governor of this state would in and of itself increase registration and voter participation from the (Latino) community," he says.

About 1 million California Latinos are registered to vote, and Obledo predicts that "we will add 200,000 to 300,000 people to the rolls" before June 1st. "I think we'll get an 80 percent turnout — I really do," he insists.

Obledo's optimism isn't shared by California's Latino legislators, all Democrats. They are lining up for Bradley. The Obledo candidacy "is a noble effort, but I think it's futile," says Assemblyman Matthew (Marty) Martinez of Monterey Park. "Even if he gets every Chicano vote in the state he still wouldn't win, and I'm not sure how he'll draw outside that. I look at the Obledo vote as more of a protest than as a chance of winning." Martinez has endorsed Bradley.

The obvious downside

Sacramento City Councilman Joe Serna is a Sacramento State University professor who ran an almost textbook-perfect campaign last November in a district where Latinos are just 10 percent of the electorate. He is equally skeptical of Obledo's chances. "He should have started two years ago," Serna says. "The notion that you'll get a massive Chicano voter turnout at the drop of a good candidate isn't true at all."

If history is any guide, Obledo's prospects are dim. The last serious Latino candidate for statewide office was former U.S. Attorney and Department of Motor Vehicles Director Herman Sillas, who ran fourth in a field of five for secretary of state in the 1974 Democratic primary. But Obledo bristles at the comparison. "I can hardly be compared with Herman Sillas in any way," he insists. "Sillas was an attorney out of LA who did not have a statewide constituency. He did not have the organizational apparatus to promote his candidacy in any structured way. He did not have the identification that Mario Obledo has on a statewide basis. In some ways it could be said that I have been a candidate for seven years."

Obledo's high visibility and built-in Latino constituency have an obvious downside, which he acknowledges. "A lot of people are going to turn out to vote against us," he admits.

The recent Salinas Valley experience may offer a grim preview for Obledo. While the campaign generated a record Chicano vote, it also brought out the opposition in numbers far greater than normal for a single-issue election. Salinas Valley organizers were unable to resolve a crucial problem, one that is bound to plague Obledo: how to maximize the Chicano vote without putting the Anglo majority in fear of a takeover that would mangle the status quo. During the campaign the press reported a "quiet revolution" among Chicanos who planned to swamp the ballot boxes with absentee ballots. A serious Anglo backlash resulted, organizers believe.

"By keeping a low profile, we were trying not to antagonize the white voter," organizer Serena says. "It was clear that (Anglo candidates) also had absentee ballot campaigns going, but the media only reported what Chicanos were doing."

Absentee ballot requests did increase sharply, with 4,901 requested and 2,691 used. The technique was effective for Chicanos in some districts: Sanchez received three times as many absentee votes as his incumbent opponents; Steve Garcia of Greenfield got 98 absentee votes to 17 for his Greenfield Memorial District opponent.

The Salinas Valley coalition sent out conflicting signals, and that conflict continues even in election post-mortems. "The time is right for a resurgence of El Movimiento," says Serena, a Texas native and former college administrator. "It's something that La Raza in California needs, a viable candidate such as Mario Obledo. His running will help create this insurgency."

Talk about insurgency is unlikely to do anything to quiet fears that Obledo, as governor, would serve Latino interests first and all others second. Obledo himself gives off mixed signals. On one hand, he has been in hot water frequently for alleged favoritism to Chicanos in his agency. He has gone to the barricades often at the first faint flickering of a Chicano cause. And he has ties to the most militant of Chicano activists.

On the other hand, Obledo, an attorney who has taught law at Harvard, believes he has established solid, nonthreatening credentials with the vast constituency served by his agency — especially the poor, elderly and disabled. His critics "fail to see that my constituency extends beyond the Hispanic community," he asserts. "I think I would carry more than the Hispanic vote."

Most of the Latino campaigns that have succeeded in the past have emphasized sweat and shoe leather, but the biggest of them will be computerized in 1982. The Mexican-American/Latino Voter Registration Alliance in Los Angeles County will have access to one of the state's best political computer operations at the Rose Institute of State and Local Government at the Claremont Colleges.

Chicano voter turnout in California has historically been below the Anglo turnout, but SWVREP's acting director, Bill Calderon, says that pattern has been reversed in Texas and that the switch can occur in California, too. "Somebody like Obledo can stimulate registration and turnout," agrees Assembly consultant Nieto. "The fact that his chances are limited and that he could be decisively beaten in the primary could have a negative effect. On the other hand, (the Hispanic community) may be reaching that turning point where the reaction will be 'let's try harder,' " he says.

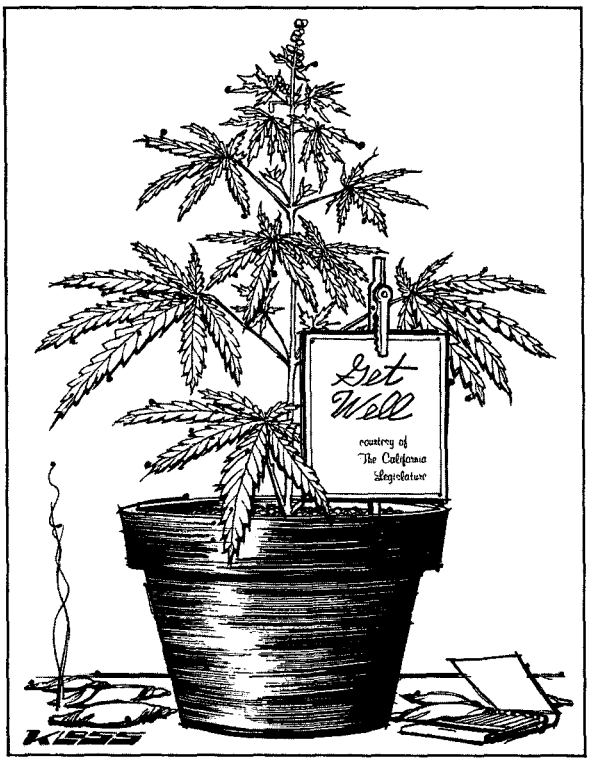
However inspirational a "nice-try" campaign would be to his basic constituency, Obledo isn't willing to risk everything just to plow the political ground for someone else to be California's first elected Latino governor. He has a framed quotation behind his desk which says a lot about his ambition and that of his community:

" 'My glory has not been; it remains to be realized.'
— Mario Obledo, 1981."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California's experiment with pot for cancer patients

By MARY KATHLEEN SMITH



"Marijuana saved my life." Those words came from a man who survived bone cancer, a leg amputation and the side effects of chemotherapy. In January 1975, Patrick Mayers, at 27, was stricken with one of the most deadly forms of cancer, osteogenic sarcoma. Even with the immediate amputation of his right leg, Mayers was told that he would probably be dead by July and that after five years the survival rate for persons with his form of cancer is 7 percent. Nothing was as shattering, however, as the effects of chemotherapy — a chemical-intake process Mayers describes as "a fate worse than death." The nausea and weight loss resulting from the treatment sapped his will to live. "I was dying," Mayers says, 'of dehydration and malnutrition.'

Mayers believes that he would be dead today if it weren't for marijuana, which he took medicinally to control his nausea. He was one of many cancer patients who helped pressure California legislators into passing a bill that would make marijuana legally available to cancer patients.

In July 1978, Senate Bill 184 was signed into law. Introduced by Democratic Senator Robert Presley of Riverside, the bill permits doctors to prescribe marijuana under controlled conditions to ease pain and side effects of certain forms of cancer treatment. Presley responded in part to a plea from another cancer patient, Paul Johnson of Riverside County. Johnson told Presley that marijuana in small doses was the only substance known to relieve vomiting following chemotherapy.

"The late Senator Hubert Humphrey once described chemotherapy treatment as a 'living death,' " Presley recalls. "Better than any drug yet known, marijuana eases the pain of the acute side effects." It is also reported to aid in the treatment of glaucoma, an eye disease. By easing pressure on the optic nerve, marijuana is said to slow the advance of blindness.

SB 184 created a new research program under the direction of a state Research Advisory Panel (RAP) to legalize medical use of marijuana. The pilot program requires RAP to sponsor statewide studies into the medical uses of marijuana and its derivatives. Clinical trials have begun with patients suffering from cancer; glaucoma research will come later. Substances used must be from federal government sources, when possible, or from state-confiscated substances held by the attorney general. The pilot project covers a four-year period, until the end of 1984, unless extended by law; an annual report to the Legislature is required.

Until recently, the medical value of marijuana was largely discounted by modern practitioners. Despite some testing that suggested marijuana's therapeutic potential, there has been little more than passing interest in the herb's medical history or promise among experts. In 1978, at the urging of a young cancer patient named Lynn Pierson, the state of New Mexico passed the first legislation in the nation offering prescriptive access to the drug for persons with cancer and glaucoma. Now 25 states permit marijuana's use in medicine.

In California, Presley's bill passed easily: 61-11 in the Assembly and 30-5 in the Senate. The relative lack of controversy resulted partly from its limited scope; the bill in no way affects existing penalties for social or non-medical use of marijuana. "I don't think we should let social misuse of the drug forestall its use to relieve pain and suffering in medical situations," Presley said in debate on the bill.

Even before the bill was introduced, a California Superior Court judge, John Work, ordered that a cancer patient in El Centro should be given supplies of confiscated marijuana from the Imperial County sheriff's office. The ruling was the first of its kind in the United States. "It's ridiculous to restrict it so closely when they're administering morphine like crazy," Work said at the time.

Work's point was clear: There is nothing new about medicinal use of a drug whose consumption is otherwise prohibited. A half-century ago, morphine was the heroin of its day; its illegal use was widespread. But hospitals and physicians relied on morphine as a potent pain killer indispensable in surgery.

Presley's bill benefited also from its sponsor's background. Gordon S. Brownell, former Western Regional Coordinator for the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML), explains: "As a former law enforcement officer, Senator Presley's sponsorship of this legislation underscored the differences between providing legal access to marijuana for medical purposes and the question of reducing or removing criminal penalties for social use. The senator's reputation in the Legislature was also important; he was not identified as a liberal." The senator,

Mary Kathleen Smith wrote "The product-liability blues" in the October Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

former undersheriff of Riverside County, made it clear from the start that he was opposed to marijuana's legalization for social purposes.

But Senator H. L. Richardson, one of the five Senate opponents, viewed SB 184 as a "perceptual softening device" towards the overall use of marijuana, not just medical use. He felt that the goal of the bill could have been accomplished without legislation, perhaps through medical institutions.

Another opponent, Senator Walter Stiern, argued that more research should be conducted on animals before legalizing marijuana's use by humans. Stiern is a veterinarian. Senator John Schmitz thought that SB 184 was a "quick foot in the door" and that he would support no measure further liberalizing marijuana. And Senator Rose Ann Vuich voted *"no" on the bill because of the opposition of the California* Medical Association, which felt that additional research was needed.

The federal 'pot farm'

The new law became effective January 1st, 1980. The early months of the program were spent seeking federal Food and Drug Administration approval, securing the drug supply and working out operational details. Last November, California first obtained marijuana from the federal government, which operates a five-acre "pot farm" in Mississippi. The National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) operates the farm and acts as a supplier for state and private programs requiring marijuana.

Because of red tape involved in obtaining NIDA supplies of marijuana, California faced long delays. But the legislation provided that the source of supply can include the use of chemically analyzed, state-confiscated supplies as an emergency measure for the seriously ill who have no time to wait for federal supplies.

In its first year of operation, the program accepted hundreds of patients. Jerry Markovich, doctor of pharmacy at Stanford Medical Center, says the results so far vary widely. "They range from good effects to no effect to negative effects. For example, one patient felt just as sick, if not sicker, when he was 'high' and would rather not be 'high' while sick. At Stanford, about three out of 10 people drop the treatment after the first try — either they feel it's no help or they do not like the drug's side effects, such as anxiety." Overall, he says, "The drug is not nearly as effective in this area as one would think. The press makes it sound better than it really is. A patient's expectations exceed what happens."

High expectations are only one problem: Many patients and some physicians complain about the program's regulations and unreliable federal supplies. Critics claim the protocol is too restrictive and the program is over-regulated, thus thwarting the intent of the law. The problem is with the method that the Research Advisory Panel uses to determine who is eligible for marijuana and who is not. There are four categories of patients defined; in three, patients are not allowed to have marijuana but are given synthetic Tetrahydrocannabinol or THC (marijuana's psycho-active ingredient) as a substitute. To obtain marijuana a patient must be hospitalized (even if this is unnecessary for his or her cancer treatments) and must be on the most potent chemotherapeutic agents.

Is synthetic THC an adequate substitute for natural cannabis? Scientific data and patients' accounts indicate that *synthetic THC may be medically inferior to natural cannabis* and more likely to cause adverse side effects. In addition, oral THC is an oily, resiny substance that is difficult to digest. The oral pill of THC takes from one to three hours to take effect; smoked marijuana works in 10 to 15 minutes.

The problems with federal supplies are likely to continue. The 25 states permitting marijuana use in medicine contain three-fourths of the national population. But NIDA and other federal agencies have made no effort to increase the nation's supply of medical-quality marijuana. As a result, the needs of only a few states can be met. Federal agencies are offering the use of synthetic THC as a "substitute" for natural marijuana.

Robert Randall, president of the Alliance for Cannabis Therapeutics (ACT) says the supply problem is so serious that federal agencies are taking marijuana promised to Michigan and transferring it to California and Georgia. "It is a classic case of robbing Peter to pay Paul," Randall says. "While the people of Michigan have a right to be angry, patients in all three states will suffer because of NIDA's mismanagement of the nation's only legal supply of medicinal-quality marijuana." To overcome the federal monopoly, ACT has asked California and other states to begin their own growing programs.

Some medical professionals predict that marijuana will be used as an anti-nausea agent only until it is replaced by more effective drugs within the next few years. Bernard Greenberg, head of a research program at University of California, Davis, Medical Center in Sacramento, predicts, "Eventually, we will end up having derivatives of marijuana better than THC without the 'high' or euphoria."

At that point, medicinal marijuana will cease to become controversial. What healthy person will want to ingest a substance with absolutely no psychedelic effect?

Newsmakers

Attention, New Hampshire . . .

United States Senator **Alan Cranston** disclosed that a committee is being formed to explore the "desirability and feasibility" of the 67-year-old Democrat running for president in 1984 . . . **Ralph M. Brody,** a water attorney who once was the highest paid public official in California, died at the age of 69. He retired as manager of the Westlands Water District in 1977 . . . Dead at 50: former state Capitol newsman and legislative staffer **Michael O'Connor.**

The state Fair Political Practices Commission fined **Mary Nichols,** head of the state Air Resources Board, $7,500 for voting on matters that affected companies in which her husband owns stock. The fine will be reduced to $750 if the stock is sold within three months. In seven of the eight cases at issue, Nichols voted against the interests of the corporations . . . State Senator **Henry Mello** of Watsonville underwent heart-bypass surgery.

Appointments by Governor Brown: **Richard Steffen,** former aide to Brown chief-of-staff B. T. Collins, as the governor's press secretary; Dr. **Roger Taylor** of Sacramento, as director of the Emergency Medical Services Authority; **Karen K. Edson** of Sacramento, to the state Energy Commission; **Jack Brooks** of San Leandro, chairman of Fremont Bancorporation, to the Commission on Judicial Performance.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reagan: Act three

Last July, after making a spectacular recovery from the bullet wound he suffered in an assassination attempt, President Reagan went horseback riding at the Quantico Marine Base in Virginia with an old California friend. It's the kind of outdoor recreation the president loves, especially after being cooped up in the Oval Office. On this occasion, however, Reagan was troubled. His domestic program still had smooth sailing in Congress, but his foreign-policy machinery was a mess. Secretary of State Alexander Haig was embroiled in constant skirmishes with Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and top presidential aides, including Richard Allen, the national security adviser. The personality feuds were grounded in deep policy splits. The administration was sending out conflicting signals on arms talks with the Soviet Union, on the Middle East and regarding other global flash points. In public, Reagan tried to write off the problem as a figment of journalistic imagination. Privately, his concern was growing and his patience was wearing thin.

FRUSTRATED BY ALL THIS IN-FIGHTING, he turned for advice to his riding companion, William Clark, the No. 2 man at the State Department, who had left a lifetime job on the California Supreme Court to join the Reagan team in Washington. The president rarely mixes business and pleasure. But Clark has been a trusted adviser since Reagan's early gubernatorial days in California. Something was seriously amiss in the elaborate foreign-policy apparatus constructed by another veteran member of the Reagan gang, Ed Meese, and the president wanted the benefit of Clark's thinking.

At that time, Meese was still the pre-eminent Reagan adviser in the White House. As presidential counselor, Meese was the architect of a table of organization that gave him control over both domestic and foreign policy. Allen reported to Meese — not to the president. Al Haig, who had early visions of being Reagan's "vicar" in foreign policy, repeatedly was held back and hemmed in by Meese. The widely celebrated Haig-Allen feuds were but symptoms of Meese's determination to keep the secretary of state in tow. Clark's initial appointment as deputy secretary of state fitted Meese's objective of keeping close tabs on the highly ambitious secretary. Meese had set up a great game with himself as the brilliant juggler who could keep Haig, Allen and Weinberger flying off in different, but carefully controlled, directions. Meese saw it as a carefully crafted design for "teamwork," with himself as supreme choreographer. It was an exercise doomed from the start. Meese lacked basic talents and expertise in foreign policy. The team didn't jell, and Meese's machine careened out of control.

But Reagan was in no mood to get to the heart of the problem during that horseback ride at Quantico. Meese was too valuable as his top lieutenant and couldn't be touched. The president was still groping for the impossible — a remedy that wouldn't undercut Meese. The moment was rich in irony. Reagan was turning for advice to one of his closest confidants to help solve a problem created by another with even greater stature in the inner circle. Meese and Clark rose together as top stars in the Reagan firmament in California. As Reagan's chief of staff in Sacramento, Clark recruited Meese, who eventually took over the post when Clark became a state judge. Meese, in turn, helped coax Clark away from the high bench in California to become Haig's top deputy. In Washington, they were considered certified members of Reagan's California Mafia — two peas in a pod. But even last July, events were pushing Clark up while Meese's star was dimming.

To compound the irony, Clark was an even match for Meese's ignorance in foreign affairs. Senate confirmation hearings for Clark's job at State were high comedy. He readily acknowledged that his apprenticeship in international relations consisted of "72 hours in Santiago." He couldn't name the prime ministers of two African countries. His debut in Washington had all the elements of farce. But once on the job, Clark displayed other strengths which quickly won him respect from top professionals at State. He became a strong champion for Haig at the White House and berated presidential aides who were sniping at the secretary. "Either support him or fire him," he bluntly told a top Reagan staffer.

To the president himself, during that Quantico horseback ride, Clark suggested more direct communication between Reagan and his top foreign policy team. Politely couched, that was already a hint that Meese had become a bottleneck. But little happened over the next few months. It wasn't until Dick Allen, Meese's protégé, got into trouble for his propensity to pocket generous gifts from Japanese business friends, that Reagan finally could be persuaded to order a basic shakeup. Meese held out as long as he could, hurting Reagan in the process by prolonging the agony of embarrassing press stories about Allen. But he finally saw the handwriting on the wall and personally made the recommendation to give up a big part of his turf to Clark.

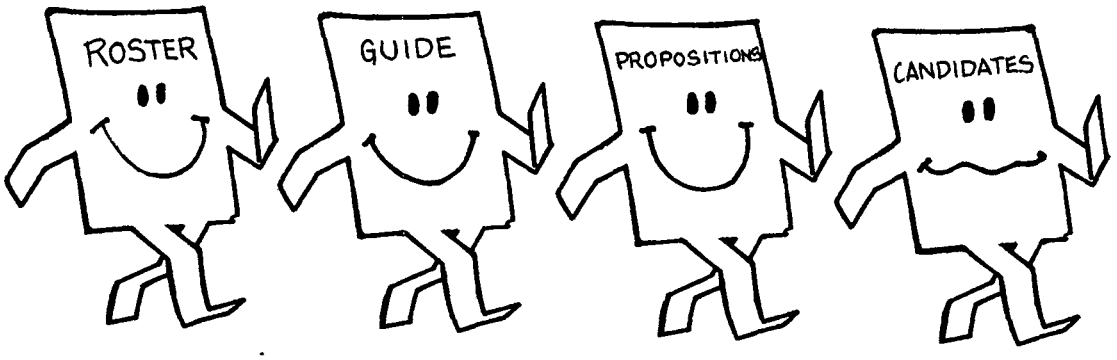
With Allen forced out, Clark moved into the national security post at the White House with direct daily access to Reagan. Meese lost not only Allen but his primacy in foreign affairs. To make the situation even worse, Meese also lost considerable clout on the domestic side to White House Chief of Staff James Baker. For the time being, there are four people at the top of the heap with varying prospects — Baker, Meese, Clark and Mike Deaver, another veteran California hand who's almost like a son to Ron and Nancy.

DEAVER, WHO'S LEAVING at the end of this year, apparently has become disenchanted with Meese's performance. There are well-founded reports he thinks Baker, a non-Californian, is doing a better job for Reagan. At this point, Baker and Clark are riding high while Meese is denying reports he may be on the way out. Another old Reagan hand, Lyn Nofziger, has quit as the top political operative in the White House. His successor, Ed Rollins, a younger pro with extensive California experience, doesn't have the same personal relationship with the president nor Nofziger's solid standing with Reagan's conservative constituencies.

What it all boils down to is that Reagan, who likes to run a neat and simple operation, is confronted with in-fighting and messy changes at top staff levels as he tries to reshape his team to deal with new — and more ominous — problems at home and abroad.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Get in step with the California Journal Parade of Pamphlets



The 1982 **California Journal Roster and Government Guide** included in this magazine is only the first in a series of handy booklets coming your way this year. Reprints of the **Roster** and most other pamphlets are available from the California Journal Press, and **Roster** prices are included on the cover of the booklet.

COMING NEXT MONTH:

Practical Guide to Campaign Reform Laws

The March issue of the **Journal** will contain a 12-page special section — the 1982-83 edition of the **California Journal Practical Guide to State and National Campaign Reform Laws.** The booklet is designed to help anyone participating in the political process find the route through the maze of state and national election laws. The pamphlet was compiled in an easy-to-follow question-and-answer format by San Francisco attorney Vigo G. Nielsen, perhaps the state's foremost specialist in the political-reform law.

Copies of the **Practical Guide** may be ordered now at the following prices: 100 or more copies, 50 cents each; 10-99 copies, 60 cents each; 2-9 copies, 85 cents each; single copy, $1.50. Add 6 percent tax to all but single-copy orders.

LATER IN THE YEAR

As the primary and general elections draw near, the **Journal** will publish special reports on all the district races in the state and on all propositions on the statewide ballot. The candidate sections will be available only in the magazine, while the ballot-measure pamphlets will be sold separately as reprints.

Send orders for **Rosters** and **Practical Guides** to California Journal Press, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento 95814. Payment or credit card (Visa or MasterCard) numbers must accompany orders. Postage and handling are free.

Among free men
there can be no successful appeal
from the ballot to the bullet.

— Abraham Lincoln

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED